7DR

MOZAMBIQUE:

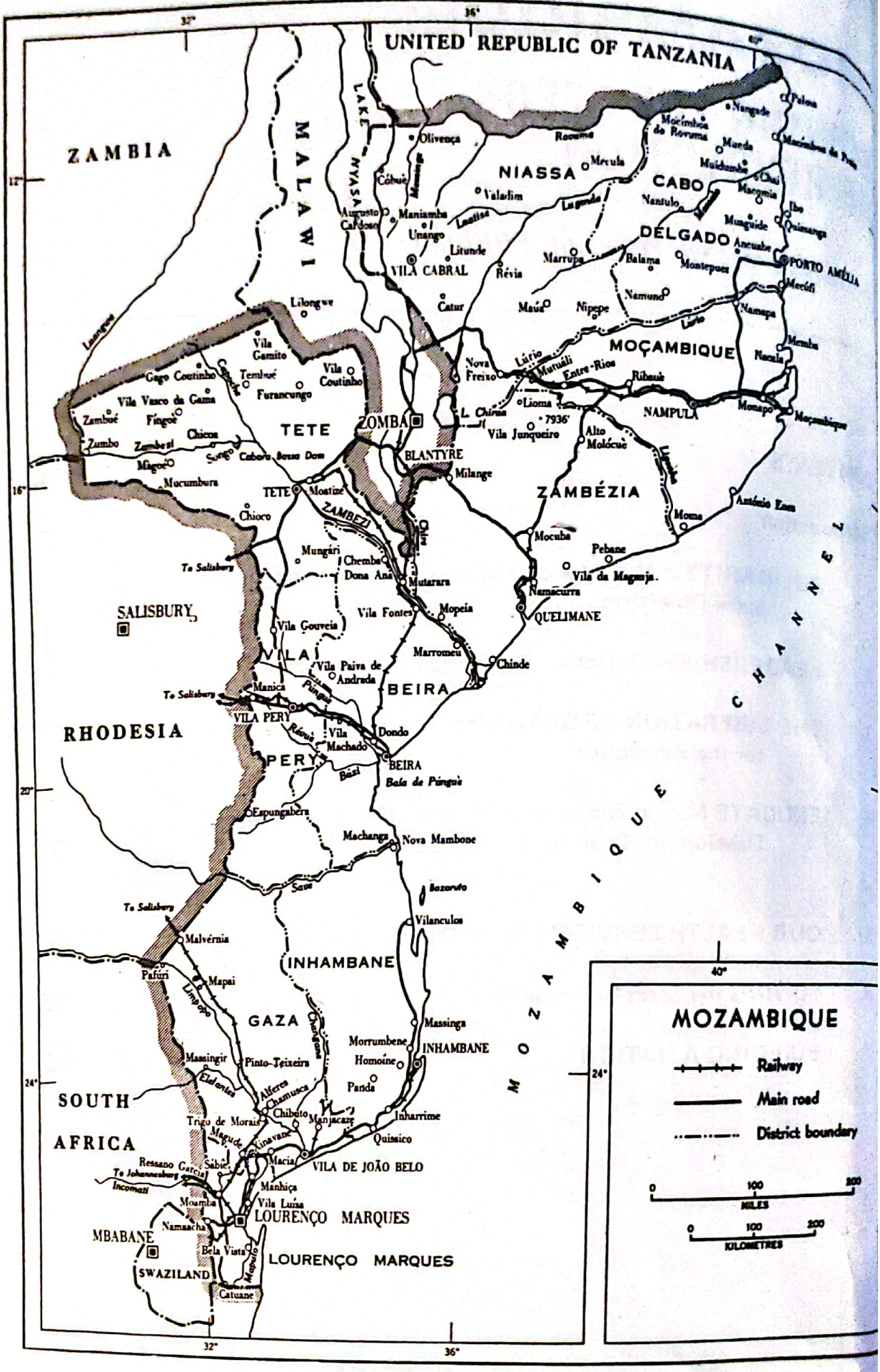
SOWING THE SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

by Samora Machel/ President, FRELIMO

CONTENTS

		Page
Introduction		2
1.	SOLIDARITY is Mutual Aid between Forces Fighting for the Same Objectives	7
2.	LEADERSHIP is Collective, Responsibility is Collective	16
3.	THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN is a Fundamental Necessity for the Revolution	21
4.	EDUCATE Man to Win the War, Create a New Society and Develop our Country	37
5.	OUR HEALTH SERVICE'S role in the Revolution	46
6.	SOWING the Seeds of Revolution	56
7.	BUILDING A NATION	63

Property of the Library
Wilfrid Laurier University


UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
ZAMBIA
MALAWI
LAKE NYASA
RHODESIA
SOUTH AFRICA
SWAZILAND
MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL
NIASSA
CABO DELGADO
MOÇAMBIQUE
ZAMBÉZIA
TETE
INHAMBANE
GAZA
LOURENÇO MARQUES
Olivença
Cóbuè
Maniamba
Unango
Vila Cabral
Lilongwe
Vila Gamito
Gago Coutinho
Vila Coutinho
Furancungo
Vila Vasco da Gama
Zumbo
Chicoa
Mágoe
Mucumbura
Chioco
Mungári
Chemba
Dona Ana
Mutarara
Vila Fontes
Mopeia
Vila Gouveia
Vila Paiva de Andrada
Marromeu
Chinde
Manica
Vila Pery
Vila Machado
Dondo
Beira
Bala de Pinguè
Espungabera
Machanga
Nova Mambone
Vilanculos
Malvérnia
Pafúri
Mapai
Massinga
Morrumbene
Homoine
Massingir
Pinto-Teixeira
Panda
Chibuto
Manjacaze
Inharrime
Trigo de Morais
Xinavane
Quissico
Ressano Garcia
Sábie
Macia
Vila de João Belo
Manhiça
Vila Luísa
Moamba
Namaacha
Mbabane
Bela Vista
Catuane
Lichinga
Vila Cabral
Nova Freixo
Lúrio
Mutuáli
Entre-Rios
Ribaué
Nampula
Alto Molócuè
Milange
Blantyre
Zomba
Mocuba
Quelimane
Namacurra
Vila da Maganja
Pebane
Moma
Mocímboa do Rovuma
Nangade
Palma
Porto Amélia
Nacala
Memba
Mossuril
Ilha de Moçambique
Nametil
Monapo
Angoche
Antónia Enes
Mecula
Nantulo
Montepuez
Balama
Marrupa
Namuno
Nipepe
Maúa
Catur
Révia
Lugela
Licungo
Zambeze
Púnguè
Búzi
Sabi
Limpopo
Incomati
Umbeluzi
Maputo
To Salisbury
To Johannesburg
Railway
Main road
District boundary
MILES
KILOMETRES
0
100
200
12°
16°
20°
24°
32°
36°
40°

Introduction

In Mozambique, the drive to attain national independence has given birth to a revolution. Elsewhere, in much of now-independent Africa, the colonialisms of Britain and France began quite early to hedge their bets, moving to co-opt and tame nationalist leaderships and lay the groundwork for neo-colonialism. But Portuguese colonialism could permit no such smooth transition to political independence. As a result, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was forced to launch an armed struggle in 1964. And once such a struggle had begun, it set in train a whole series of developments which slowly but surely transformed the very nature of Mozambican nationalism.

Most important, the need arose to involve the people – the essential base for successful guerrilla warfare – in the struggle in a new and more vital manner than had been the case with earlier expressions of nationalism on the continent. This, in turn, demanded that the movement exemplify, in the nationalist phase itself, the promise of a new kind of life – one in which the leadership was seen to avoid the easy paths of élitism and pursuit of entrepreneurial advantage, and one in which the people saw themselves to be gaining fresh and meaningful control over their own lives, through popularly-based institutions in the liberated areas. Such a struggle also dictated a deepening of ideological awareness at all levels: an understanding of imperialism, an eschewing of exploitation, a critique of racism and a redefinition of nationalism. Eduardo Mondlane, first President of FRELIMO, was only half joking when he said, shortly before his assassination by the Portuguese in 1969, that it would almost be a pity if Mozambicans were to win their war too soon, because "we are learning so much"!

Within FRELIMO the triumph of this revolutionary emphasis was not achieved easily or automatically. Basil Davidson has remarked that "there is a general rule by which all movements of resistance produce and deepen conflicts within themselves as the reformists draw back from the revolutionaries, and, in drawing back, fall victim to the game of the enemy regime". The conflicts over the direction of FRELIMO's development which racked the movement in 1968-9 can be understood precisely in these terms. The crucial role of Samora Machel, who then emerged as President of FRELIMO, also can be understood only within the context of these events. For Samora Machel represented, in his person, all those within the organisation who were prepared to learn the broader lessons of the liberation struggle, and to move to a new level of consciousness and of commitment to the cause of the Mozambican people. Even more important, he has been able to codify these lessons and present them to his colleagues as components of their political education and as guidelines for their future work. Herein lies one of his greatest contributions to FRELIMO, and also the strength of his contribution to revolutionary theory. The speeches collected here provide some of the best evidence of this kind of contribution.

Samora Machel, born in Gaza province in southern Mozambique in 1933, learnt the lessons of colonial oppression early. His own grandfather had been wounded in earlier resistance to Portuguese occupation. The day-to-day realities of economic exploitation were felt in the fertile Gaza region, where the Portuguese administration made the time-consuming cultivation of cotton compulsory for African families, and bought the crop at fixed, minimal prices. Moreover, for generations men have been forced to go to work in the South African gold mines. While some come home – often maimed or blind or tubercular – others, like Machel's eldest brother, do not return at all. In Gaza, too, a dramatic example of colonial oppression occurred in 1950 when land in the Limpopo valley was seized to make way for a fresh wave of settlers and the Africans removed to infertile areas, their villages destroyed, without compensation.

Samora Machel began his education at a mission school but, like so many others, found the path to further studies effectively blocked. Only when he started work was he able to proceed with his secondary education, paying the fees out of his wages. But in employment, too, Africans suffer differential treatment – racial discrimination – in pay, in promotion, as also in social life.

In the late 1950s, as other African countries moved towards independence, the possibility of renewed resistance became apparent. In 1962 Machel left Mozambique, with others, to join FRELIMO in Tanzania. Convinced, correctly, that the Portuguese would not yield, would not open a real dialogue with the Mozambican people, without a fight, he immediately opted for military training, and was in the army when fighting began in 1964. He had risen to become the commander of this people's army when he became President of FRELIMO five years later.

By this time, the struggle for independence had developed into a revolutionary one; it has become, as Machel says in the interview reprinted here, "an integral part of the people's lives . . . What we discuss with the people now is how to make our struggle a real revolution". The speeches collected here therefore present the theory and practice of consolidating a *people's struggle* under Mozambican conditions. They deal with such themes as the methods of political work most likely to advance the revolutionary process, the dynamics of co-operative agricultural production, the emancipation of women, the nature of genuinely innovative educational and health facilities, and the imperatives of international solidarity.

Readers will discover such themes for themselves in the following pages; there is no need to rehearse them further here. However, two points are worth emphasis. One is that no distinction is made between the task of destroying colonialism and the task of building a new Mozambique: they are two sides of the same coin. Thus, in Machel's formulations and in FRELIMO's practice, the collective spirit which sustains successful military activity becomes the essence of the new social and economic institutions. And the active involvement of the people which has premised military success becomes the guarantee of future progress without false decolonisation or any subsequent trend towards authoritarianism.

Second, there is the balance struck between theory and practice in Machel's speeches – between the specificity of day-to-day revolutionary activity on the one hand and the broader principles and strategies which give shape to such activity on the other. Some successful revolutionaries have come to revolution with theoretical preoccupations and have gradually tempered and refined these in the heat of action. In Machel's case the development has been somewhat different: practice is now being theorised and thus forged into an ever more effective instrument of progress.

Yet one should not make too much of this distinction; in both cases a learning process is involved. The result, when a revolution is being successfully sustained, is an exciting blend of theory and practice. This is precisely what one finds in today's Mozambique – and this excitement is fully captured in these pages.

Toronto, April, 1974

John Saul

The biographical material presented in this introduction is drawn from an interview with Samora Machel carried out within FRELIMO in 1974. The best book-length account of the liberation struggle in Mozambique is still Eduardo Mondlane's *The Struggle for Mozambique* (Penguin, 1969); for an analysis of recent developments see John Saul's essay "FRELIMO and the Mozambique Revolution", in G. Arrighi and J.S. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa* (Monthly Review Press, 1973), ch.8.

1 SOLIDARITY is Mutual Aid between Forces Fighting for the Same Objectives

Speech at the First National Solidarity Conference for the Freedom and Independence of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, at Reggio Emilia, Italy, on 25 March 1973.

Comrade Chairman of the Conference,
Comrade Leaders and Militants of the Italian Democratic Forces,
Comrades of the MPLA and the PAIGC,
Comrade Delegates and Observers,

This demonstration of solidarity is a festival of friendship between peoples, a reaffirmation of the principle that all peoples love freedom, justice, progress and peace, and that these are indivisible.

This magnificent celebration is taking place in the region of Emilia Romagna, where at every turn we come across concrete expressions of hatred for fascism and exploitation, examples of the people's determination to defend their rights. Here the fight for Italian independence and unity reached great heights. One of the main centres of the fight against fascism and Hitlerism was established on this martyred and heroic land. Today Emilia Romagna is one of the Italian regions where people's democratic power has been established, thereby defending the gains of the Italian resistance.

Correctly interpreting the interests of the people and keeping alive the deep feelings of the Italian resistance, the people of Emilia Romagna have turned their region into a front of Italian solidarity with the struggles of other peoples. Here in Reggio Emilia there is the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital, which is linked to the Zambezia Hospital by a friendship pact. In the Emilia Romagna too, there is the municipality of Bologna, also linked by a pact of friendship to our Education Centre in Tunduru.

It is this and the countless other demonstrations of solidarity, affection and friendship of the Italian people which we should like solemnly to hail today and to thank you for, on behalf of the Mozambican people and FRELIMO.

Apart from the tangible support that it represents, your solidarity is also a political act which helps us to educate our people.

Colonialism and imperialism made our people know the brutal face of aggression, exploitation and oppression.

The land of the renaissance of European culture, of the freedom epic of Garibaldi, of the tenacious struggle against fascism, the land of the great Italian people, was unknown to us. The image we had of you was only of the FIAT G-91's which sow death; of the Bologna food industries which exploit our peasants and workers in their cashew-nut shelling plants in Mozambique. Only the liberation war, which broke the isolation

Photo: The FRELIMO Commissar of Fingoe District, Tete, talking to villagers.

to which we were subjected, enabled us to come into contact with the Italian people and to discover their true character.

Your solidarity, in this context, makes our people understand concretely that there are no emeny races or peoples; that the enemy of our people is that of all peoples; colonialism which has no race, imperialism which has no country.

The visits made by your delegations to the Tunduru Educational Centre, to the Dr. Americo Boavida Hospital and to the liberated regions of Mozambique, were political lessons for our people.

Comrade Chairman of the Conference, dear Comrades, our conference is taking place at a time of great progress in our struggle.

In Mozambique we are in our ninth year of armed struggle. Profound qualitative and quantitative changes are taking place in our country.

The armed struggle has spread to the nerve centres of the economic system of colonial domination. It has reached the major centres of vital strategic and economic interests both of Portuguese colonialism and of imperialism. Furthermore, this advance of our struggle is affecting both enemy interests in Mozambique and their system of domination of the whole of Southern Africa.

Mozambique's 3,000km of coastline on the Indian Ocean, with its excellent harbours such as Lourenço Marques, Beira and Nacala, makes our country a natural outlet to the sea for a vast hinterland rich in mining and industry, with prosperous agriculture and flourishing international trade. Mozambique's geographical position makes our country a centre for the control of shipping around Africa, both between Asia and the Middle East, and between Europe and America.

The cold war mentality which persists in militarist and reactionary circles makes Western powers see our country as an essential factor in the control of the so-called Cape route.

As the frontier of the white empire in Southern Africa, Mozambique is regarded as a buffer state by the racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury.

A country with a population of over 9 million, which makes it the second most populous country in Southern Africa, Mozambique is the main supplier of labour to the whole of Southern Africa. In the mines of South Africa and Rhodesia, on the plantations and in the industries of the racist empire, nearly one million Mozambicans sold by the Portuguese government are subjected to the new slavery for the benefit of the lords of the mines and the land.

The vast reserves of hydro-electric power and coal, the deposits of oil, gas, uranium, iron, copper, bauxite, gold and diamonds, and the fertility of our soil, have all attracted the interest of the big multinational companies.

It is this combination of economic and strategic interests which, by identifying with Portuguese colonialism, has enabled colonialism to survive to this day. It is against them that our struggle is directed, it is they who are being destroyed by our struggle.

Between late October 1971 and the beginning of November 1972, the FRELIMO armed forces undertook more than 800 operations against the colonial army, in the course of which 107 enemy military bases and camps were totally or partially destroyed, more than 3,000 Portuguese soldiers killed, and 344 military vehicles of all types destroyed. During this same period we shot down or destroyed on the ground 55 aeroplanes and helicopters (including a Rhodesian bomber and helicopter), and

we sank 15 boats on the Zambezi River. Dozens of kilometres of railway line were destroyed, as well as 20 trains and 20 bridges.

But more important than combat statistics are the changes brought about in the political field and in national reconstruction.

Cabo Delgado was a province subjected to the exploitation of the cotton companies.

Tens of thousands of African families were forced by the colonial administration to devote their efforts to cotton production only to be paid starvation prices for their crops. The oppression of the companies was so brutal under colonial rule that hundreds of thousands of people preferred to cross the Rovuma river and work on the sisal plantations in what was then Tanganyika.

Today the cotton companies have almost disappeared from Cabo Delgado.

The aim of the present activity of our fighters is to wipe out the few surviving enemy bases isolated in our areas, and to ensure that the population is better protected against bombing raids. Thus, on 18 September, 1972, we launched a simultaneous offensive against seven enemy military bases, including the strategic land and air base at Mueda, the centre for Portuguese military operations in the middle of the Province.

At Mueda 18 planes and helicopters, including two FIAT G-91's, were blown up on the tarmac. In addition, a number of military installations were destroyed or damaged, namely arsenals, living quarters, fuel deposits and runways. The offensive is still going on now and we have already destroyed several bases, the most recent were Quinhantati, Nacatar, Nangade, Ula and Pundanhar. ,

The brutal oppression of the colonialists in Niassa, the occupation of the most fertile land by settlers, the sale of labour to the mines and plantations in Rhodesia and South Africa, the cotton system and the lack of medical care for the people all served to decimate the population.

Covering an area of more than 120,000 sq. km., with fertile soil and a moderate climate, Niassa had a population of 250,000 people when the war started. Colonialism incited tribal and religious divisions among that scant population. The despotic and feudal rule of the chiefs (*regulos*) stifled the people's initiative. Such was Niassa.

Today not only have the cotton companies and the sale of workers ceased to exist, but the process of establishing new settlers has also been curtailed. The linguistic and religious groups are discovering their Mozambican identity, finding the fraternity which unites the oppressed.

The democratically appointed people's committees of power have replaced the feudal and despotic rule of the former chiefs.

As in Cabo Delgado, the enemy are isolated, for the roads and railways are blocked. Here too our activity mainly involves the destruction of enemy bases. In the last few months we attacked and totally or partially destroyed Macaloge, Lunho, Massangulo and Valadim, and concentration camps, such as Maua, were destroyed and hundreds of people freed.

Tete province supplied workers who were sold to the mines, tobacco plantations and farms of Rhodesia and to the Moatize coal mines. The colonialists used our men as beasts of burden to transport the settler and his goods. Men were taken to the Beira docks and to the settler plantations. The province, which borders on Rhodesia and Malawi, was centre for international communication lines.

The deposits of coal, iron, uranium, copper, bauxite and gold attracted the interests and ambitions of the big companies. But it was above all the gigantic Cahora Bassa scheme with profound implications for Southern Africa, which made the big monopolies focus their attention on our country. Cahora Bassa, intended to supply cheap electric energy to South Africa and to Southern Africa, would be the starting point for the setting up of a common market which would subject our entire zone to the tutelage of Pretoria.

In the Zambezi valley, which is to be irrigated by the dam waters, colonialism has plans to establish one million European settlers, who would constitute a kind of human buffer against the advance of the liberation struggle.

But profound changes have taken place in Tete in the past five years. Although the enemy have considerably increased their strength in men and material, and are being further reinforced by the military intervention of Salisbury and Pretoria, the rapid expansion of the armed struggle to the whole province and its advance into Manica e Sofala have destroyed the enemy's strategic and tactical plans, preventing them from exploiting their material superiority.

The practical effects of colonialist military defeat are the very great extent to which ground communication lines, including international ones, have been paralysed, gradually bringing to a halt foreign economic activity in the fields of agriculture, trade, transport and mineral prospecting, increasing the isolation of Cahora Bassa and the coal mining centre at Moatize, and breaking through the blockade of the Zambezi.

Our people are no longer beasts of burden and are no longer sold to foreign countries.

Forced labour has ceased, the brutality and humiliations meted out by the settlers and administrators are gradually being relegated to the past. Here too, Portuguese colonialism no longer exists as a system of administration and economic domination, and so assumes only its other features, those of an aggressor and criminal.

To mark the new stage of this process, while the struggle was raging in Manica e Sofala and 120 kms. of railway line were destroyed, our forces launched a strategic offensive against the strongest enemy bases.

On 9 November the offensive began against the provincial capital and the Chingozi air base in the vicinity of Tete. Military, administrative and commercial buildings in the city centre were badly hit, and at the same time, in Chingozi 17 planes and helicopters (including several Fiats) were blown up on the tarmac, as well as barracks, hangars, etc.

The offensive launched on 9 November is continuing to this day. The Fingoe and Furancungo bases, each with forces greater than battalion strength, have been destroyed. On 1 March, the strategic base at Malewera was completely destroyed, despite frantic help from the Portuguese and Rhodesian air forces.

The expansion of the struggle into Manica e Sofala on 25 July denotes a new phase in our struggle.

There are entrenched imperialist interests in Manica e Sofala regarded as vital in the context of both our country and all of Southern Africa. Big sugar companies like British Sena Sugar are established there. There are textile, cement and engineering industries linked to foreign monopolies in this province. American, French, West German and South African companies have been granted vast concessions for oil and gas prospecting, both on-shore and on the continental shelf.

The province dominates the routes linking the north and south of the country.

Several neighbouring countries, especially Rhodesia, are supplied from the provincial capital, the port of Beira. The headquarters of the Portuguese military command is in Manica e Sofala. It is from there that enemy troops are deployed elsewhere. This explains the alarm caused in Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian economic and military circles when the struggle was launched in that province.

The rapid spread of the people's war of liberation has forced the Portuguese colonialists and their allies to continually review the distribution of their forces. The insoluble contradictions in which the enemy's strategic and tactical thinking is floundering is leading them to defeat after defeat.

The military victories achieved by our forces are creating the conditions for further developing and consolidating the process of establishing the structures of people's power and making the situation more favourable for national reconstruction. Thus the dividing line between the liberated areas and the enemy zone is becoming irreversible The masses who are directly experiencing freedom are prepared to defend that freedom against any attempt at enemy reoccupation.

The fact of liberated areas does not mean the total disappearance of the physical presence of the enemy. Enemy bases, though isolated, still remain there. The air force maintains constant activity. Enemy troops launch incursions.

The basic feature of the liberated areas is that the masses follow watchwords, are mobilised and publicly organised by us, and openly follow our line in their daily activities. This is how liberation from exploitation, the elimination of tribalism and the birth of the nation are brought about, together with the practical establishment of people's power in political, economic and social structures.

This is what the liberated areas are, and hence their fundamental importance as centres of far-reaching change, as bases where, in the details of everyday life, the new balance of forces in favour of the oppressed masses takes on material form. In short, the liberated zones are centres for the diffusion of our ideology, of the new life we are creating.

In the zones still occupied by the colonialists, increasingly large sectors of the population are joining our ranks. Although, according to their own statements, the colonialists have already interned over a million people in about a thousand concentration camps, called *aldeias de proteccao* (protective hamlets), they are unable to quell the masses' desire for liberation. The concentration camps become new combat centres and the puppet militiamen, politicised through our mobilisation, become anti-colonialist combat detachments. The waves of arrests and murders unleashed in the rural and urban areas affect all strata in the population: priests, office workers, students, workers and peasants.

Colonialist terror sharpens the colonialists' contradictions with the masses, making the people more committed to the cause of liberation.

The just policies of FRELIMO, its respect for human dignity and freedom, its policy of clemency towards Portuguese prisoners of war, the clear and correct definition of the enemy and of the objectives of the struggle, are leading growing sections of the European population to dissociate themselves from Portuguese colonialism, to denounce and condemn its crimes, and in more and more cases already, to support our struggle. Because of this, the colonialist repressive machinery is now reaching large sectors of the European population. The Students' Union at the University of Lourenço Marques has been dissolved and its leaders arrested and deported. Several bishops have complained about harrassment by the political police. Portuguese and

foreign priests have been arrested, sentenced and expelled from the country.

The military defeats and the growing political isolation of the colonialists in Mozambique are being accompanied by similar developments in Angola and Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde, thus reducing the enemy's room for manoeuvre. The recent assassination of our Comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the PAIGC, like the previous assassination in 1969 of President Eduardo Mondlane, had the same purpose of trying to paralyse the struggle by assassinating our leaders. It has been proved that these actions are both criminal and futile.

In Portugal a fourth fighting front has been opened against fascism and the colonial war.

For the first time in the history of colonial wars, citizens of the colonial power have launched armed action in their country against the colonial war machine, as part of their strategy in the fight against the regime.

Besides encouraging our people, these actions weaken the enemy, forcing them to fight on more fronts.

The countries bordering on the Portuguese colonies, such as Tanzania, Zambia, Congo, the Republic of Guinea and others, are standing firm and true to the duty of solidarity, often shedding their blood too, in the fight for the same cause. The historic Assembly of African Heads of State in Rabat, which renewed and deepened Africa's commitment to its liberation, together with our liberating action, created a new situation internationally.

Internationally, Portugal's isolation has become so great that its closest allies feel obliged to condemn it, as shown by the recent Security Council meeting on the Portuguese colonial question.

The UN has recognised the representativity of FRELIMO, and our representatives have observer status in the Fourth Commission.

In the Socialist world, our just struggle meets with the greatest moral, political, diplomatic and material support. In Western countries there is the development of the popular movement of solidarity and support for our cause, and condemnation of the alliance of governments and monopolies with the Portuguese colonialists. Several governments of NATO countries, like Norway, Denmark and Holland, have publicly shown the desire to dissociate the Atlantic Alliance from Portuguese colonial adventures.

In Italy we are happy to see, as proved by this magnificent conference, that the solidarity movement is reaching all social strata and all political forces which prize the freedom and dignity of Man.

Prominent religious and political figures from the world of science and the arts are joining the solidarity movement alongside workers and students, white-collar workers and peasants.

The vast popular front of solidarity with our struggle established in Italy, besides being an example, proves above all that the cause of anti-colonialist struggle can win over all honest people.

Comrade Chairman of the Conference, dear Comrades, it seems to us that solidarity activities should be seen within this overall perspective. Solidarity activities must be imbued with political context, so as to be able to plan a concrete line of action and methods.

The Mozambican people's liberation struggle is a struggle against Portuguese colonial fascist domination, against imperialism, a struggle to establish a new social

order in our country with a popular and democratic content.

Portuguese colonialism and fascism are aberrations in our era. Colonial fascist domination is the worst form of denial and humiliation of human beings. Colonial war encourages the lowest and most horrible crimes which appal the human conscience. Ever more courageous voices are being raised the world over to denounce and expose the horrors of Portuguese colonialism and its colonial war. The honest voices of priests and bishops in the last two years, are forcing growing sectors of world opinion to become aware of existing realities.

The fight against Portuguese colonialism and fascism is not different in essence from the fight against fascism and Nazism which took place in Europe. The European peoples who lost millions of dead in the holocaust to dreams of the domination of "superior" races, completely understand our struggle against this cancer in our country.

The destruction of the domination of the big imperialist companies in Mozambique and the shrinking of the buffer zones of the racist empires of Rhodesia and South Africa, concern all forces in the world which see the need to fight against imperialist plunder and the policy of aggression.

This is the fight of the Mozambican people and of all peoples. Also to be seen as a common fight is our struggle to establish a new popular social order in our country, which liberates man from the misery of exploitation, introduces justice in society and releases the creative initiative of the masses.

In this context, solidarity is not an act of charity, but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objective. Liquidating the Portuguese colonial fascist system means destroying one of the main bastions of contemporary fascism, which is stimulating the growth of the fascist forces in Europe, including Italy.

In the present phase it is important that the solidarity movement set itself a certain number of objectives and methods of work.

In the first place the cause of struggle against Portuguese colonialism and fascism, as your experience shows, is a cause which concerns and mobilises all honest people, regardless of their social origins and party-political or religious affiliations. In this context, we believe that a united solidarity movement must be developed, so as to reach the numerous sectors which are not yet involved.

Popularising the solidarity movement means organising and mobilising the various sectors in factories, schools, universities, offices, hospitals and churches. It means publicising the horrors of colonialism and the nature and successes of our struggle. In this respect, it seems to us that it would also be useful for the conference to study ways of making the circulation of information between our liberation movements and the Italian people more rapid and efficient.

Mobilising and organising also means defining the tasks of the solidarity movement, mapping out lines of action. There are two main types of tasks today: political tasks and material support.

Politically our main concern is to isolate Portuguese colonialism from its sources of moral, political, diplomatic, economic and military support; and at the same time to make the international community recognise the political realities of our country, i.e. that the Mozambican people are regaining their sovereignty and exercising it through FRELIMO, which leads and represents them.

This twofold concern gives rise to different lines of action. Political parties, trade unions and other mass organisations are called upon for action involving vigilance,

denunciation and pressure. Vigilance in detecting the activities of government and financial consortiums on behalf of Portuguese colonialism; denunciation of such activities; and pressure to put an end to them and make governmental institutions recognise Mozambican political realities.

Obviously this type of action must be developed at all levels: in the press, in Parliament, in petitions and popular demonstrations.

At the last session of the United Nations, FRELIMO's representativity was recognised in the Fourth Commission and we were granted observer status. Nevertheless, the opposition from Western countries, including Italy, prevented the UN General Assembly from drawing all the conclusions contained in the Fourth Commission's decision.

The UN General Assembly must recognise that in Mozambique FRELIMO is the only power which legitimately represents Mozambique. Portugal's status is that of an aggressor which must unconditionally put an end to its aggression, and evacuate its forces of repression.

Recognition of the situation in Mozambique also implies material support to consolidate and promote national reconstruction.

This action can take place at various levels. In African countries, Socialist countries and various Asian and Scandinavian countries, governments (either directly or through governmental agencies) make an important material contribution to national reconstruction. Italy should also be involved in such action, as happens in Emilia Romagna, where regional and local institutions of people's power give material support to our medical care and agricultural development programmes. This type of action, if it is widespread, can contribute immensely to the success of our work.

Mass organisations and political, trade union, cultural and religious bodies can also contribute material support.

Fields in which material solidarity can be shown are as wide-ranging as are our needs: health, education, child care centres, production — all sectors of work are in need of assistance.

Comrade Chairman of the Conference, Comrade Delegates, the tenacious struggle of brother peoples for freedom, independence, justice and peace is also solidarity with us. We warmly and affectionately hail the victories of our comrades-in-arms in the MPLA and PAIGC who are fighting Portuguese colonialism with us. Their victories are our victories and, like ours, they are made of sacrifices and bloodshed. All of us here today feel the absence of our brother and comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, assassinated by agents of Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. His friendly presence, his talent, his cultured mind, his dedication as a militant and fighter and his vision as a leader are no longer with us. But the struggle continues. The PAIGC, his great party, continues, just as FRELIMO continued after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, its first President.

Amilcar's great merit was that he was able to embody national unity and make it operative, using it as a weapon to destroy colonialism; he was able to establish a policy and structures making it possible for the struggle to survive the individual and draw new strength from his sacrifice.

We reaffirm our solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia who, with us, are confronting imperialism in the trenches of Southern Africa.

We hail the victories of the African people in the struggle to consolidate the inde-

pendence and unity of our continent. Their victories are ours, and they are creating the conditions for the development of our struggle. We also hail with respect, friendship and solidarity the peoples, parties and leaders of Tanzania, Zambia, the Congo, Guinea and other sister countries which, under the difficult conditions of bordering on the war zones of Portuguese colonialism, are continuing to support our cause.

We welcome the successes of the Portuguese people in their struggle against the colonial war and fascism. The armed action of Portuguese patriots against the colonial fascist war machine encourage us and strengthen the friendship and solidarity between our peoples.

We support the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples against zionist aggression, for the recovery of occupied territories and for the national rights of the Palestinian people. We join all the progressive forces in the world in welcoming and rejoicing at the victory achieved by the comrades in Vietnam and Laos.

Our comrades, like the people of Cambodia, are proving that imperialism cannot survive in the face of a people's struggle, even when it is defended by the mightiest and most criminal power of all, the United States. We congratulate the socialist countries for the victories they have achieved in building a new society, and for their high sense of international duty.

We hail the struggle of the peoples and workers of the world, and especially of Italy, for their defence of national independence against imperialism, for their fight for democratic freedom and the workers interests. That fight strengthens ours. Your solidarity represents a high peak of human fraternity, the affirmation that no people stand alone, that their suffering and struggle are shared by all peoples.

We shall take back with us and convey to our people the warmth, affection, friendship, fraternity and solidarity we are experiencing here, amid the Italian people. We shall tell them that far away in Europe, a people who have also shed their blood for freedom are today making sacrifices in our support. We shall explain your struggle, your difficulties, your spirit of solidarity, so that our people learn from your example and increase their steadfastness and solidarity in their revolutionary struggle. We should also like to assure you that the Mozambican people will always respect the sacrifices made for them and solidarity shown for them. We will carry on our struggle until final victory, thereby performing our national and international duty.

Long live the National Solidarity Conference for the Freedom and Independence of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

Long live friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Mozambique and Italy.

Down with Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

Long live the united struggle of the peoples of the entire world for freedom, justice, progress and peace.

United we shall win.

A LUTA CONTINUA. INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE. VENCEREMOS.

2 LEADERSHIP is Collective, Responsibility is Collective

Summary of the President's Recommendations made at a Joint Meeting with instructors and other cadres at a FRELIMO Centre for Political and Military Training, on 2 February, 1972.

1. The work of the CPPM (Centre for Political and Military Training) is not to produce "killers", but to train true revolutionary fighters, authentic FRELIMO soldiers.

   What characterises the FRELIMO soldier is his political consciousness. We train fighters whose essential task is to build a new society, and because it can only be built in a territory free from enemy occupation, the fighter has to be trained to eliminate the enemy physically.

   A fighter is therefore a conscious and active agent in the transformation of society. The CPPM is the laboratory where we create this agent of change, the New Man.

2. Our watchword is: Production, Study and Combat. This watchword synthesises our political line. Our fighter combines these three factors. Production supplies the material needs of the war, political study gives us our identity, while scientific study enables us to develop production and improve our combat techniques.

   The fight against the physical enemy provides us with the land where production and the renewal of society takes place and frees the population from which new fighters come. The fight against the enemy in our own minds — the capitalist ideology imposed by colonialism and the feudal ideology inherited from tradition — consolidates our physical victory, lays the foundations for the new society and makes our progress irreversible.

   Our watchword must be applied in our methods of training fighters.

3. The fight against the enemy that lives in the mind is the toughest. Our whole upbringing, our tradition, our whole life until the time we joined FRELIMO makes us see and cultivate as virtues what our new society rejects as defects. The CPPM, in its way of life, demands a radical change in values, attitudes and behaviour. Newly-arrived comrades are introduced to a life which they have never conceived of, which they never thought possible. So it is quite a shock.

4. We must never think of men as automatons who must receive and carry out orders irrespective of whether they understand them or have assimilated them. Leaders must fight against the harmful tendency of solving political problems through administrative decisions. This tendency leads to a bureaucratic dictatorship and creates sharp contradictions with the rank and file.

Our life and our discipline can be based only on conscious and voluntary involvement. Therefore when new trainees arrive at the CPPM, the camp leadership must discuss with them and explain the life in the camp, and its basic values.

5. The trainees must be led to progressively adopt our values.

The first battle is to instil national consciousness and the importance of unity and of wiping out tribalism. Class consciousness must be made more acute and deeply felt, together with the need for close unity between peasants and workers to win power. Closely related to the battle for unity is the struggle to wipe out the spirit of individualism and to foster a collective spiriti.

The struggle against stealing, waste and unthriftiness is a part of developing a collective spirit.

To steal is a selfish act, an act of disregard for the interests of one's comrades. The thief deliberately harms his comrades in order to satisfy his personal petty interests. Stealing his comrade's shirt will not solve the problem of nakedness. Fighters should be taught to return even a needle they find. Unthriftiness and waste reflects indifference towards the party's property and very incorrect understanding of what it means. At home nobody abandons a hoe or throws away food, because when a person has to work to acquire such things, he knows their value. Everyone needs to be fully aware that everything FRELIMO possesses has been paid for with the blood of our comrades and the sweat of our friends, and that the blood and sweat are part of the object or food we acquire. At this point we must draw comrades' attention to the fact that they must not go about in tatters. Indeed, this not only prevents military smartness, but the main thing is that a small hole or tear which is not repaired in time soon becomes a gaping hole, a large tear, so that the clothes can be written off. In order to help our comrades understand the necessity of this, we should, as far as possible, distribute needles and thread.

6. Releasing the masses' sense of creative initiative is an essential precondition for our victory and one of the chief purposes of our struggle.

If the masses are to exercise the power so dearly won, they must display initiative. Colonial oppression, tradition, ignorance and superstition create a sense of passivity in man which stifles initiative.

To create a sense of initiative is also to create a sense of responsibility and to make the militant feel directly concerned by everything related to the revolution, to our life. He must feel that he is FRELIMO, that FRELIMO's fate depends on his behaviour.

7. If fighters are to be able to accomplish their task, it is essential that they understand the correct definition of who is the enemy, and can clearly distinguish friend from foe, even if the latter is concealed under the same colour, language, family ties or tribal markings as their own, even if he raises the flag with us.

The struggle against tribalism, racism, false religious and family loyalty, and so on, is essential if the barrel of our gun is always to be trained on the correct target.

8. The emancipation of women is one of FRELIMO's central tasks, which is undertaken mainly by the Women's Detachment.

We must ensure that all militants and cadres are committed to respecting the Women's Detachment and seeing its members as their mothers, sisters and wives. Our women comrades must assume their duties and correctly understand their mission as mothers of the revolution, as educators of the future generation which will continue the revolution. They must also learn to respect their own bodies. There is also a need to fight reactionary prejudices among both men and women about women's abilities and their role in the revolution, in society and in the home.

9. International solidarity plays an important role in our revolution. We could not have reached the present stage of development in our struggle without the aid we receive from the progressive forces of the world.

The struggle of the peoples and workers of the whole world against the exploitation of man and to build a new society is a decisive factor in creating favourable conditions for the victory of our struggle in the present era.

The internationalist spirit is an essential characteristic of revolutionary forces; hard work is therefore required to make our militants realise who are our friends and allies at the international level, and to acquire an internationalist spirit.

10. Study combined with practice is a fundamental weapon with which to heighten our political consciousness and gain the knowledge required to mobilise nature and its laws on our behalf. It also gives us ammunition for wiping out superstition.

A programme of constant political education must therefore operate at every level: cadres, instructors, leading cadres, rank and file and the Women's Detachment.

There must be regular and frequent meetings with the units, whether by company or whole battalion. It is negative only to hold meetings when they are called by the President, the National Political Commissar or other top leaders.

Scientific and literary education is a requirement of our armed struggle, of our fight against ignorance and superstition, and of our endeavours in economic and social development.

It is inadmissable that we should have cadres, especially instructors, who are illiterate and cannot speak Portuguese.

Therefore, priority must be given to the struggle against illiteracy and lack of knowledge of Portuguese among instructors and cadres, and in the second phase the struggle must be broadened to include the Women's Detachment and the whole camp.

Instructors and cadres who can read and write and speak Portuguese must draw up continuous and constant programmes for improving scientific and literary knowledge. Programmes should include the history and geography of Mozambique, the Portuguese language, arithmetic and geometry, rudiments of physics, chemistry and the natural sciences. Such a programme should include regular lectures and discussions on new techniques and methods of production, particularly in the fields of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Acquiring good habits of hygiene, both personal and collective, is decisive

to the prevention of many diseases. A soldier's basic training, therefore, should include a weekly programme of hygiene classes and a basic knowledge of first aid. In the same way, but at a higher level, there should be weekly courses on hygiene and first aid for instructors and cadres.

The importance of culture must also be given due emphasis, since it expresses the characteristic features of our national identity.

There should be regular programmes of songs, plays, poetry reading, and so on, with the companies, instructors and cadres.

11. Production is essential for us. Without it not only could the war not advance, but it would be impossible to ensure the people's survival, let alone meet the growing needs of the masses.

In the final analysis, the principal contradiction lies in whether it is to be a handful of exploiters, old or new, or the masses who are to control the means of production, for greater well-being in society and increased economic and social progress. Thus production in our army is a school of independence. It not only meets our needs, but also teaches.

In our centres the practical side of production is satisfactory; what is now needed is to relate it more closely to theory, so that experiences can be exchanged, understood and internalised. Fortunately we are beginning to have an increasing number of young people recently trained in fields directly related to production. We must try to spread their scientific and theoretical knowledge among our instructors and cadres through talks and short courses. This will enable us to improve our production techniques and achieve greater diversification.

12. The chief feature of our CPPMs is the teaching of military techniques, training men to wipe out the enemy physically and this is what distinguishes them from such other FRELIMO centres as schools, hospitals, cooperatives, etc.

Each group, depending on its basic knowledge and experience, should receive specific training. When training a group of fighters we must consider the tasks they will be called upon to carry out, so that their training corresponds to genuine requirements. We must get the fighters used to the real conditions of struggle. During training fighters should never abandon their weapons, packs or blankets. We need to increase the number of long marches with small rations and short rest periods. We should insist on night marches. The fighters must get used to making individual and group shelters, trenches, tunnels and underground caches.

13. Good or bad habits are acquired by units during training. If our teaching is to be worthwhile, our behaviour must conform to what we say, to our political line. Leading cadres, instructors and cadres must be guiding lights of the new way of behaving. For the units, it is we who personify FRELIMO's political line. Whatever our behaviour, our unity or disunity, our discipline or indiscipline, our hardworkingness or laziness, our collective spirit or selfishness, our revolutionary dedication or corruption, that is what will be followed by the units, because it will be interpreted as the reality of FRELIMO's line.

With the exception of the strictly military programmes, political, educational and cultural programmes in the CPPMs have not been as successful as was hoped due principally to lack of continuity. We begin things, then interrupt them, and they die. The usual excuse is that the person in charge of the programme was busy, absent, sent on a new mission, etc. . . .

This makes no sense and it must stop. One of the reasons why many national level cadres are appointed to the leadership of CPPM is to ensure regular and unbroken continuity of all programmes. The great responsibility of the appointed cadres requires that they have sufficient flexibility and ability to pursue the programme of a colleague who may for some reason be unable to continue it himself.

14. Leadership is collective and although each member of the leadership has a specific task, there are no hard and fast compartments.

The duty of every member is to be concerned with all the work, see that it is carried out and to put forward ideas and criticism. Leadership is collective and responsibility is collective.

3 THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN is a Fundamental Necessity for the Revolution

Opening Speech at the First Conference of Mozambican Women, 4 March, 1973

Comrade members of the Central Committee,
Comrade members of the Executive Committee,
Comrade delegates,
Comrade observers,
Comrades,

This is a historic and glorious moment in the life of our organisation. For the first time we are holding a conference of Mozambican women engaged in all sectors of activity within our revolution. For the first time FRELIMO militants are meeting together to pool their efforts and jointly work out a strategy for the emancipation of women.

We should like first, on behalf of FRELIMO's Central Committee to express warm greetings to all the delegations present here.

Allow us to extend a special welcome to the delegates from the war provinces, who have left very important sectors of work so that through their presence and experience they may contribute to the success of this conference. Their presence here is both proof of their understanding of the value of this conference, and a guarantee of its success.

We hail the women comrades from Cabo Delgado who are fighting heroically on every front, many since the start of the war, advancing and consolidating the revolution and dealing tremendous blows against the colonialist and reactionary forces.

We hail the comrades who have come from Niassa, such a large province with a small population. These comrades are facing great difficulties, but they have proved that they are able to overcome them, showing unbreakable determination and revolutionary spirit, daily defending our organisation's central ideas, transporting equipment, mobilising the population, producing, feeding the guerrillas, creating conditions whereby in Niassa FRELIMO's presence remains undisputed.

The comrades from Tete have a special responsibility. This province is of great strategic importance; it represents the door to the liberation of the whole of Southern Africa and is a centre of direct conflict between the forces of revolution and reaction. We warmly welcome the comrades from Tete and congratulate them for having so completely assumed the watchwords of our Movement, so that in only about four years, alongside the men, their comrades in arms, they have been able to carry the torch of freedom throughout the whole of Tete province, now also taking it into Manica e Sofala to light the way there.

We should like to hail the comrades doing clandestine work in the zones still occupied by the Portuguese colonialists. Working in the midst of the enemy, subject

to incalculable risks and to the temptations of corruption in which the enemey specialises, these comrades put the interests of the people above all else, facing the risks and rejecting corruption as they create the conditions for the outbreak of armed struggle. They give us extremely valuable information and make a very important contribution to the progress of our liberation struggle.

We would also like to extend special greetings to the comrades who work in the FRELIMO camps outside the country, in various sectors of activity. As FRELIMO representatives, where they play an outstanding role in supplying the new fronts; in the secondary school where they are training the cadres who will assume our policies, discovering the secrets of science and destroying myths, so as to mobilise both society and nature in the interests of the revolution.

We also hail the comrades from the Americo Boavida hospital at Mtwara, who are carrying out our principle of putting the health services at the service of the masses, treating the sick and the war wounded, so as to make them fit to return to the struggle, and training cadres who will defend the health of our people on the front line.

The comrades of the Centre for Political and Military Training deserve special mention. They are carrying out a delicate and difficult mission — that of turning men and women hitherto guided by outmoded ideas and prejudices into politically conscious fighters, prepared to destroy the enemy's physical and ideological forces of exploitation and oppression.

The comrades in our children's home have three decisive tasks. Educating the new generation, instilling in children the new way of thinking which will make them true perpetuators of the revolution. Teaching students so that, understanding our line, they master science and become agents for the transformation of society. And making the wives of militants into active militants themselves, into true mothers of the revolution.

To these comrades, who are the hosts at this conference today, we address warm greetings, conscious as we are of their important role as educators.

We can state with pride that this Conference is a great victory, a victory against the traditions and obscurantism which doom women to passivity, a victory against the exploitative society which enslaves women and a victory for the revolution, which is liberating the exploited and the oppressed and which is releasing the creative initiative of the masses.

But victories are built and sustained through blood and sacrifice. There are many women and many men who should have been here with us today, those who in the fight against the enemy and in the internal struggle that took place, have created the political, moral and even physical conditions for our meeting here. They are not physically with us. Their sacrifice is a bridge to our future progress. Some gave up their lives in a final heroic act; for others each day of their lives was a heroic act, an example of service to the masses, of defence of our line.

We are what we are because of the sacrifices which have gone into the revolution. It is therefore fitting that as we begin our conference we observe a minute of silence in memory of the women and men who have fallen serving the people, serving the revolution.

Gathered here are women from all the provinces, from all the regions and ethnic groups of our country, with varying levels of education and culture. There are mothers and even grandmothers, side by side with young single women. We

have here teachers, instructresses, soldiers, nurses, students and also peasant women. Men will also be attending the conference, your comrades in arms not only in the liberation of the nation, but also in the very struggle for the emancipation of women.

THE REVOLUTION AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

a. The Historical Context of the Conference.

This Conference is taking place at a specific historical moment in the life of our organisation. It is this historical context that gives the conference its importance, its profound significance.

We have just celebrated the tenth anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO. Achieving the unity of the Mozambican people from the Rovuma to the Maputo provided us with an indispensible instrument for launching the process of liberation. Unity constitutes the driving force of our action. The transformation of our unity into an operative force — in other words, the launching of armed struggle on 25 September, 1964 — created the conditions for the beginning of a radical process of transformation in our country.

The recent celebrations of the eighth anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation take on a special importance now that the struggle has already become a revolution and as such is gradually spreading to all regions of our country, as shown by the recent opening of the Manica e Sofala front.

The eighth anniversary we celebrated also corresponds to an advanced phase in the process of collapse of the enemy's military and political effort. As pointed out by the recent Central Committee meeting, we are now entering upon the stage of generalised offensives by our forces in the politico-military field — a stage which will change the balance of forces between us and the enemy in our favour.

The constant clarification and strengthening of our line over the four and a half years since the Second Congress have made our achievements possible and provided the guidance needed to enable us all reach this point. This is the context in which the conditions that led us to call this conference became ripe.

The opening of the conference almost coincides with 8 March, International Women's Day, the day when all of progressive mankind solemnly reaffirms its support for the struggle for women's liberation. This fortunate coincidence should be an incentive to us, since it reminds us of the fact that our struggle is not isolated, showing us that the struggle of women is the struggle of humanity and making us aware of the progress already achieved.

The main purpose of the conference is to study questions concerning the emancipation of women, to find lines of action which will lead to their emancipation. But a preliminary question arises: why bother with the emancipation of women? And another: why call this conference now?

There are people among us, as our Movement is well aware, who feel that we should devote all our efforts to the struggle against colonialism and that the task of women's emancipation is therefore secondary because it will dissipate our forces. They further add that our present situation, with a shortage of schools, very few educated women and with women still bound by tradition, does not provide any basis for embarking upon consistent action, and that it is therefore necessary to

wait for independence for the establishment of sound economic, social and educational foundations for launching the fight.

Yet others, giving a twisted interpretation of our Statutes, claim that certain local traditions must be respected and that we cannot oppose them at this stage for fear of losing the support of the masses. They then ask why there is a need to emancipate women at this point, when the vast majority of women are indifferent to the matter. After all, they conclude, emancipation would be artificial, imposed on women by FRELIMO.

This is a very serious question. It demands careful study and clear thought.

b. The need for emancipation

The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of a humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition for its victory. The main objective of the Revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potentialities of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature. This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises.

Generally speaking, women are the most oppressed, humiliated and exploited beings in society. A woman is even exploited by a man who is himself exploited, beaten by the man who is lacerated by the *palmatoria,* humiliated by the man who is crushed under the boot of the boss and the settler.

How can the Revolution triumph without the liberation of women? Will it be possible to get rid of the system of exploitation while keeping one part of society exploited? One cannot only partially wipe out exploitation and oppression, one cannot tear up only half the weeds without even stronger ones spreading out from the half that has survived.

How then can one make a revolution without mobilising women? If more than half the exploited and oppressed people consist of women, how can they be left on the fringe of the struggle? To make a revolution it is necessary to mobilise all the exploited and oppressed, and consequently women as well. If it is to be victorious, the Revolution must eliminate the whole system of exploitation and oppression, liberating *all* the exploited and the oppressed. Therefore it must eliminate the exploitation and oppression of women, it is forced to liberate women.

Moreover, if we also consider the basic need for the revolution to be continued by the new generation, how can we ensure the revolutionary education of the generation which will carry on our work if mothers, the first educators, are marginal to the revolutionary process? How can one turn the homes of the exploited and the oppressed into cells of revolutionary struggle, centres for the diffusion of our line, encouraging the involvement of the family, if women remain apathetic to this process, indifferent to the society which is being built and deaf to the call of the people?

To say that women do not feel the need to liberate themselves, or that it is often FRELIMO, and not the women, which uphold women's emancipation is a paltry argument which cannot stand up to analysis. Women feel their subjection, they feel the need to change their situation. What happens is that the domination imposed by society, by stifling their initiative, often prevents them from expressing their aspir-

ations, often prevents them from thinking of how to wage their struggle. It is here that FRELIMO intervenes. As the conscious vanguard of the women and men of Mozambique, of the oppressed people, FRELIMO formulates the line and indicates the methods of struggle.

It is essential that we understand this phenomenon so as to avoid false and futile debates.

c. The right time to launch the fight

The other question that arises is when is the right time to launch the struggle?

We cannot limit the revolutionary process to certain people while neglecting others, because this would halt the revolution, destroy it. The roots of an evil which we underestimate and decide to pull out at a later date become the roots of a cancer which can destroy us, invading the whole body, before we get to that 'later date'.

Under the present conditions, FRELIMO is no longer able to wage an armed struggle without carrying out a revolution. The preconditions for advancing the armed struggle is to attack the very roots of exploitation. The idea of waiting until later to emancipate women is erroneous; it means allowing reactionary ideas to gain ground only to fight them when they are strong. It is like not fighting the alligator on the bank only to fight him in the middle of the river.

The armed struggle, acting like an incubator, has already created the conditions for the masses to be receptive to the ideas of progress and revolution. To avoid joining battle when conditions are ripe is lack of political foresight, an error of strategy.

This close and indissoluble link between revolution and the liberation of women also enables us to understand why this conference is taking place now and not five years ago, for example. Let us recall an experience we had, that of the Mozambican Women's League (LIFEMO). LIFEMO was created in Mbeya in June, 1966. At that meeting, attended virtually only by women who were on the fringe of the struggle, they elected a leadership which was ignorant of the struggle and of the country, and which set itself some tasks outside the real perspectives of the struggle. A few months after the LIFEMO conference, all that remained of the leadership were the names. Like a rotten fruit, LIFEMO decayed of its own accord. Why?

When LIFEMO was established, what stage had been reached by FRELIMO, the Mozambican revolution and women? FRELIMO did not yet have sound structures and its line had not been sufficiently well understood and internalised because it had not yet been put to test in the struggle. Its cadres and leadership had not been sufficiently seasoned by struggle and they lacked experience.

This situation, where although the line was clear it had not been internalised, where the structures were not sound, the leadership was not experienced and the cadres were not seasoned, blocked the development of our line through practice. We were unable to distinguish the essential from the secondary, unable to define our tasks correctly, establishing proper priorities. Therefore we had only reached a very embryonic stage of the popularisation of the war, the point of departure under our conditions for transforming the struggle into a revolution.

We can therefore say that at the time of LIFEMO's creation the revolutionary process was still at the initial stage. This shows why it was difficult to wage the

battle for the emancipation of women: it is inseparable from the development of the revolution.

Consequently, for LIFEMO to talk of the emancipation of women was merely an empty verbal exercise, an imitation of what was going on elsewhere in the world, a superficial fashion.

It was so because at that time women as a whole were not involved in the struggle. And what is more important, those who were involved were discriminated against. They were not invited to attend the conference. Having no involvement or tasks, LIFEMO was doomed to wither away and die. And this is precisely what happened.

Today the conditions for launching a victorious battle really exist. FRELIMO's line has been internalised and developed in practice, our cadres are gaining experience, being tempered in the struggle, and the process of purifying our ranks has thus begun. The revolutionary process has been assured, the struggle has already been transformed into a revolution and national unity is becoming ideological unity.

The participation of women in the armed struggle, the principal task at our present historical stage, enables them to put our unity into practice and creates the conditions for transforming their consciousness, so that they feel their responsibilities, become consciously involved, undertake critical analysis and understand that society is created by ourselves.

So the wind of revolution blows, and with it, necessarily, the wind of women's emancipation. FRELIMO's Central Committee is making us hoist our sails, and this is a favourable moment for us to set sail.

2. THE BASIS OF WOMEN'S ALIENATION

a. The system of exploitation — the starting point

To speak of the emancipation of women clearly implies that they are oppressed and exploited. It is important to understand the basis of that oppression and exploitation.

Let us begin by saying that the oppression of women is the result of their exploitation; oppression in society is always the result of imposed exploitation. Colonialism did not come to occupy our country for the purpose of arresting us, flogging us and beating us with the *palmatoria.* It invaded and occupied our country for the purpose of exploiting our wealth and labour. In order to exploit us, in order to quell our resistance to exploitation and prevent us from rebelling against it, it then introduced the system of oppression; physical oppression, through the courts, the police, the armed forces, imprisonment, torture and massacres; and spiritual oppression, through obscurantism, superstition and ignorance, designed to destroy the spirit of creative initiative, to kill the sense of justice and criticism, to reduce the individual to passivity and make him accept his exploited and oppressed state as a normal thing. Humiliation and contempt came into being in the process, since he who exploits and oppresses tends to humiliate and despise his victims, regarding them as inherently inferior beings. And then racism appears, the supreme form of humiliation and contempt.

The mechanism of women's alienation is identical to the mechanism of the alienation of the colonised man in colonial society, or of the worker in capitalist society.

From the moment when early man started to produce more than he consumed, the material foundations were laid for the emergence of a stratum in society which

would appropriate the fruits of the majority's labour. This appropriation of the product of the masses' labour by a handful of people in society is the essence of the system of the exploitation of man by man and the crux of the antagonistic contradiction which has divided society for centuries.

As soon as the process of exploitation was unleashed, women as a whole – like men – were subjected to the domination of the privileged strata. Women are also producers, and workers, but with specific characteristics. To possess women is to possess workers, unpaid workers, workers whose entire labour power can be appropriated without resistance by the husband, who is the lord and master. In an agrarian economy, marrying many women is a sure way of accumulating a great deal of wealth. The husband is assured of free labour which neither complains nor rebels against exploitation.

Hence the important role played by polygamy in the rural areas of a primitive agrarian economy. Society, realising that women are a source of wealth, demands that a price be paid for them. The girl's parents demand from their future son-in-law the payment of a bride-price – *lobolo* – before giving up their daughter. The woman is bought and inherited just like material goods, or any source of wealth.

But what is more important is that compared with, say, the slave, who is also a source of wealth and an unpaid worker, the woman offers her owner two added advantages. She is a source of pleasure and above all, she produces other workers, she produces new sources of wealth.

This last aspect is particularly significant. Society grants the husband the right to repudiate his wife and demand the re-payment of the *lobolo* should she prove barren, or if the husband thinks that she is. It can also be noted that in many societies, mindful of the value of the labour power of the woman's children, the principle is established that the children belong to the mother's clan or family. In our society, it is also current practice for the children to continue to belong to the mother's family, especially if the husband has not paid the entire *lobolo*, that is, the purchase price for this wealth. This situation has led to the excessive emphasis on women's fertility and the transformation of the man-woman relationship into the mere act of procreation.

But a particular situation emerged. Owing to his control over the masses, the exploiter acquired vast riches, vast estates, large herds of cattle, gold and jewels and so on. Yet despite his wealth he was still mortal, like other men. The problem then of the fate of his wealth – in other words, the question of inheritance – became crucial. Women are the producers of heirs.

It is therefore clear that the exploitation of women and their consequent oppression starts in the system of private ownership of the means of production, in the system of exploitation of man by man.

b. The ideological and cultural mechanisms of domination

A society based on private ownership of the means of production, on the exploitation of men, creates and imposes the ideology and culture which uphold its values and ensure its survival. The economic exploitation of women, their transformation into mere producers with no rights, at the service of their owners – whether husbands or fathers – requires the establishment of a corresponding ideology and culture, together with an educational system to pass them on. Obviously, this is not something

which happens all once, but a process developed and refined over thousands of years of the society's existence.

Obscurantism is the beginning of the process. The general principle is to keep women in ignorance or give them only an essential minimum of education. Everywhere we find that illiteracy is higher among women, they are always a minority in schools, colleges and universities, even though they are the majority of the population.

Science has always been kept as man's monopoly, his exclusive domain, in the developed civilisations of the past as in capitalist society today. To keep women away from science is to prevent them from discovering that society is created as a function of certain specific interests and that it is therefore possible to change society.

Obscurantism and ignorance go hand in hand with superstition and give rise to passivity.

All superstitions and religions find their most fertile soil among women, because they are submerged in the greatest ignorance and obscurantism. In our society, rites and ceremonies are the main vehicle for the transmission of society's concept of women's inferiority, and their subservience to men. It is here too that countless myths and superstitions are propagated with the express intention of destroying women's sense of initiative and reducing them to passivity.

Family education itself emphasises and reinforces this. From infancy the girl is brought up differently from the boy and a feeling of inferiority instilled in her.

None of this is surprising. As we have said, exploitative society promotes the ideology, culture and education that serves its interests. It does so with women, just as it does with colonised people and with workers in capitalist society. All are deliberately kept in ignorance, obscurantism and superstition with a view to making them resigned to their position, of instilling in them an attitude of passivity and servility.

This is where racism comes in. The colonised man is called a second class human being by virtue of his skin. The woman is called an inferior human being by virtue of her sex. In capitalist countries in Europe, they claim that women are creatures with long hair and short ideas.

The process of alienation reaches its peak when the exploited person, reduced to total passivity, is no longer capable of imagining that the possibility of liberation exists and in turn becomes a tool for the propagation of the ideology of resignation and passivity. It must be recognised that the centuries-old subjugation of women has to a great extent reduced them to a passive state, which prevents them from even understanding their condition.

c. The nature of the antagonism

It is important to understand correctly the nature of the contradiction or contradictions involved, for only after understanding them will we be in a position to define the target of our attack and plan the appropriate strategy and tactics for our struggle.

We have seen that the basis of the domination of women lies in the system of economic organisation of society, private ownership of the means of production, which necessarily leads to the exploitation of man by man.

This means that, apart from the specific features of their situation, the contradiction between women and the social order is in essence a contradiction between women and the exploitation of man by man, between women and the private ownership of the means of production. In other words, it is the same as the contradiction between the working masses and the exploitative social order.

Let us be clear on this point. The antagonistic contradiction is not between women and men, but between women and the social order, between all exploited people, both women and men, and the social order. The fact that they are exploited explains why they are not involved in all planning and decision-making tasks in society, why they are excluded from working out the concepts which govern economic, social, cultural and political life, even when their interests are directly affected.

This is the main feature of the contradiction: their exclusion from the sphere of decision-making in society. This contradiction can only be solved by revolution, because only revolution destroys the foundations of exploitative society and rebuilds society on new foundations, freeing the initiative of women, integrating them in society as responsible members and involving them in decision-making.

Therefore, just as there can be no revolution without the liberation of women, the struggle for women's emancipation cannot succeed without the victory of the revolution.

It should be pointed out that the ideological and cultural precepts of the exploitative society which maintain the subjugation of women are destroyed by the advance of the ideological and cultural revolution which introduces into society new values, a new content to education and culture.

But apart from the antagonistic contradiction between women and the social order, other contradictions of a secondary nature also arise between women and men as a kind of reflex.

The marriage system, marital authority based solely on sex, the frequent brutality of the husband and his consistent refusal to treat his wife as an equal, are sources of friction and contradiction. If they are not correctly solved, these secondary contradictions may become more acute and produce such serious consequences as divorce.

But however serious they may be, these factors do not alter the nature of the contradiction.

It is important to stress this aspect, because we now see an ideological offensive taking place particularly in the capitalist world, in the guise of a women's liberation struggle. The aim is to transform the contradiction with men into an antagonistic one, thereby dividing exploited men and women to prevent them from fighting the exploitative society. In fact, leaving aside the demagoguery which hides its true nature, this ideological offensive is an offensive by capitalism to confuse women, to divert their attention from the real target.

We see small manifestations of this offensive appearing among us. Here and there we hear women grumbling about men, as if the cause of their exploitation lay in the difference between the sexes, as if men were sadistic monsters who derive pleasure from the oppression of women.

Men and women are products and victims of the exploitative society which has created and formed them. It is essentially against this society that men and women should fight united. Our practical experience has proved that the progress achieved in the liberation of women is the result of the successes gained in our common struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, and to build a new society.

3. STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL QUESTIONS

a. Our main lines of action

The fight for women's emancipation demands, as a first step, the clarification of our ideas. Such clarification is all the more imperative in that there is a profusion of erroneous ideas about the emancipation of women.

There are those who see emancipation as mechanical equality between men and women. This vulgar concept is often seen among us. Here emancipation means that women and men do exactly the same tasks, mechanically dividing their household duties. 'If I wash the dishes today you must wash them tomorrow, whether or not you are busy or have the time.' If there are still no women truck drivers or tractor drivers in FRELIMO, we must have some right away regardless of the objective and subjective conditions. As we can see from the example of capitalist countries, this mechanically conceived emancipation leads to complaints and attitudes which utterly distort the meaning of women's emancipation. An emancipated woman is one who drinks, smokes, wears trousers and mini-skirts, who indulges in sexual promiscuity, who refuses to have children, etc.

Others associate emancipation with the accumulation of diplomas, and particularly university degrees, which are regarded as certificates of emancipation.

Yet others think that emancipation consists of achieving a certain economic, social and cultural level.

All these are erroneous and superficial concepts. Not one of them either gets to the heart of the contradiction or suggests a line that will really emancipate women.

Emancipation requires action on several essential levels.

First of all, a political line of action must be laid down. For women to emancipate themselves there must be conscious political commitment. What does this mean in practical terms?

It means, firstly, that the line must be laid down by a revolutionary political organisation which, defending the interests of the exploited masses as a whole, leads them in the fight against the old society. Only such an organisation is in a position to formulate a global strategy for the fight for liberation. In our case, what this means in concrete terms is that in order to liberate themselves, women must internalise FRELIMO's political line and live by it in a creative way. Otherwise they will throw themselves into sterile and secondary battles which will exhaust them uselessly and to no effect.

To internalise and live by our line requires involvement in the tasks laid down by the organisation. Just as a plant needs to strike roots in the ground in order to grow, so does the political line take root in revolutionary practice. Revolutionary practice destroys the exploitative society, unleashes the internal struggle, demolishes our erroneous ideas and releases our critical sense and creative initiatives.

In this context women must be mobilised for internal struggle and for mass struggle, and they must be organised. They will then be able to internalise the political line to start the offensive. They must be involved in the battle for the political education of the next generation and in the battle for the large-scale mobilisation and organisation of the masses. Their commitment to the liberation struggle will then become concrete action, leading them to take part in making decisions affecting the country's future.

There also arises the need to engage in production.
Releasing the productive forces and launching the process of economic development will lead to deeper ideological understanding and a sounder knowledge of reality, of society and nature.

A third aspect is scientific and cultural education. A scientific and cultural grounding enables women to achieve a correct understanding of their relationship with nature and society, thus destroying the myths fostered by obscurantism which oppress them psychologically and deprive them of initiative.

In this way, women will gradually attain all levels of planning, decision-making and implementation in organising the affairs of children, hospitals, schools, factories, the armed forces, diplomacy, art, science, culture and so on.

It should also be emphasised here that all these needs do not apply solely to women, because men are also alienated, though in different ways.

The last aspect is that of the relationship between men and women, that is, the new revolutionary concept of the couple and the home. We can already see clearly what this relationship should not be. Until now it has been based on the alleged superiority of man over woman, aimed at satisfying the male ego.

We must state here – and this is something new in society – that the family relationship, the man-woman relationship should be founded exclusively on love. We do not mean the banal, romantic concept of love which amounts to little more than emotional excitement and an idealised view of life.

For us, love can only exist between free and equal people who have the same ideals and commitment in serving the masses and the revolution. This is the basis upon which the moral and emotional affinity which constitutes love is built. We need to discover this new dimension, hitherto unknown in our country.

b. The organisation of women

Following the principle of mobilising, organising and uniting all our forces in the struggle, the Central Committee, satisfying the aspirations of the increasingly conscious Mozambican women, has decided to establish the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM). The Organisation of Mozambican Women is a body which will provide leadership and guidance for all Mozambican women in the struggle for the emancipation of women and for the revolution.

Apart from this, its central task is to mobilise international public opinion in favour of our struggle and to express the solidarity of the Mozambican women and people with the liberating and revolutionary struggle of the women and peoples of the whole world.

One battle the Organisation has to wage is that of keeping the true sense of emancipation permanently alive, reinforcing the ideological struggle against attempts to disparage the women's struggle and isolate it from the revolution. Firm adherence to the line, which must be understood, internalised and lived by in the details of everyday life, will give the Organisation and women themselves the sense of vigilance required to nip in the bud even the slightest reactionary ideological offensive.

We can be sure that the colonialist army, like other reactionary and conservative forces, will react against this Conference and its results and do their utmost to make our decisions remain a dead letter. Comrades of ours who still cling to erroneous concepts will find it difficult to understand the profound meaning of the women's struggle and they will put obstacles in its way.

But the greatest obstacle will be created by women themselves, by their habit of dependence, their passivity and the dead weight of tradition they carry over from the old society.

Women must unite. Unity is the main weapon of the struggle, its driving force. FRELIMO's political line is your platform for unity, while tribalism, regionalism and racism stand against it.

Tribalism and regionalism prevent one from realising the greatness of our country and of our struggle. They make it impossible to understand the complexity of our country and, above all, they disperse one's forces.

Racism is a reactionary attitude. The enemy has no colour. The function of racism in our case and in any struggle is to make it difficult to define the real target, creating confusion so as to divide the national revolutionary and progressive forces, weakening them and leading to their annihilation by the common enemy and exploiter. Our struggle would remain isolated from the world-wide struggle of the progressive forces against the exploitation of man by man.

Seeds planted among us by the enemy cannot be destroyed by words or magic formulas. The ideological struggle must be started among all women to make them clearly understand the harm of these reactionary ideas. At the same time efforts must be made to explain to women that their experience of suffering, exploitation and oppression in Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Niassa, Inhambane, Tete and Maputo, in Zambezia, Manica e Sofala and Nampula, is the same. All bear the same scars, all have known the same hunger, the same poverty, the same suffering, the same shackles, the same widowhood, the same orphanhood, the same tears caused by colonialism and exploitation.

We are united through the discovery of common wounds and scars, but above all unity is realised through common effort, links are forged through collective work and study, through collective internal struggle, through criticism and self-criticism, and through action against colonialism.

We must also learn from the experience of our sisters throughout the world. That will help us to understand that there are no races or peoples who are exploiters or oppressors. There are no racist peoples, no colonialist peoples. By opening our minds to the experience of others we will not only learn useful lessons, but we will also understand that all countries, all peoples, all races, are waging the same struggle as we are: a struggle against the colonialists and imperialists who have no country, a struggle against the exploiters who have no race. In this way we will be able to see how the struggle of the Mozambican women and of our people is the struggle of all of humanity, and we will understand the warmth of the solidarity between us.

We must give up the pernicious habit of identifying only with those who come from the same village as ourselves, who speak the same language and have the same culture, traditions and educational background. Those with whom we must identify and see as our sisters, giving them our friendship and affection, our help and fraternal warmth, are all those who, like us, are exploited and oppressed, and who are with us in the great struggle for the liberation of women, the country and the working people.

These are all sacred tasks for the Organisation of Mozambican Women, because it is the women's responsibility to bring up the next generation free from tribalism, regionalism and racism, free from the archaic attitude of oppressing women or passively accepting oppression, free from superstition and imbued with our class feeling and internationalism.

It is also necessary to fight against certain very negative subjective attitudes. Many

women comrades think of their commitment as temporary, while they are single, and have a tendency to give up their revolutionary duties as soon as they are married. It is considered normal for wives to return to the village, and for being a wife to become a woman's sole duty. In many cases this is encouraged by the husband himself who still sees the woman as his private property, dependent on him, existing by virtue of him, and tied to him, almost like a piece of luggage, whom he can use as he pleases, who is obliged to go where he goes. This conflicts both with the requirements of the national liberation struggle and with the women's struggle for emancipation.

We must mobilise all woman, so that they feel the need to participate in concrete tasks, to feel responsible, and to be actively engaged in the transformation of society In this respect, married women especially must concern themselves with setting a positive example to the younger single women and show them in practice that marriage is an incentive for the pursuit of revolutionary tasks.

c. The Structures of the Organisation of Mozambican Women

In order to function, to carry out its tasks of leading and guiding women in the struggle for their emancipation, and to involve them ever more deeply in the tasks of the revolution, the Organisation of Mozambican Women needs to be properly structured. We are sure that the participation of many comrades engaged in the different sectors of the struggle, the experience they have accumulated and will synthesise here, and their knowledge of the existing difficulties and needs, will enable them to define the basis for the structures to be created and their functions.

However, some questions arise. Who should join the Organisation of Mozambican Women? How should it function and what should its relationship with the Women's Detachment be? What should its place be within FRELIMO as a whole?

We have said that the duty of the OMM is to involve all Mozambican women in the struggle for emancipation and revolution. It must therefore form the broadest possible front, mobilising, organising and uniting all the women who until now have remained outside the process of transformation of our new society, young and old, single and married, educated and non-educated, militants and non-militants. The OMM must organise Mozambican women, wherever they are to be found, at places of work, in schools, hospitals, detachments, co-operatives and nurseries, organising women in every base, circle and village.

The OMM is a new wing of FRELIMO to reach and involve the women whom we have not yet properly reached or involved.

But to carry out this process requires experienced leadership, people who have understood and internalised the line, and lived by it in the process of engaging in the everyday tasks of the revolution. The members of the leadership must therefore have had politico-military training and experience, the indispensible prerequisite for grasping the complexity of the situation and for always being able to see clearly the path to be followed.

The Women's Detachment, because it involves women in the central task of the present phase – direct combat against the colonialist and imperialist enemy – is the vanguard body for the women's participation in the struggle, and it is now playing an extremely active role in the transformation of society. It therefore constitutes the driving nucleus of the OMM, its main source of cadres.

But the Women's Detachment is not the OMM and the OMM is not the Women's Detachment. The Detachment is an integral part of our army, of the People's Forces

for the Liberation of Mozambique, an armed political body. The OMM on the other hand, involves all women, from those who have remained marginal to the struggle until now, to those who are combatants on the health, education, production, army and other fronts.

The relationship between the two must be complementary and based on mutual help, the Women's Detachment being a driving force, a source of cadres, and the OMM a mobilising force which expands our base and provides new forces for the Women's Detachment.

In order that the OMM may be in a position to take up and carry out the important tasks with which FRELIMO entrusts it, FRELIMO's Central Committee has decided to organise a training course for women cadres, to be held under the leadership of the Executive Committee.

Integrated in FRELIMO, inspired by FRELIMO's revolutionary line, acting as a part of our revolutionary family's harmonious body, in the context of the structures of FRELIMO, the OMM will accomplish the difficult task which the people, the women and the revolution has entrusted to it.

Comrades, the proceedings of the First Conference of Mozambican Women are about to start.

Millions of Mozambican women, who for centuries have been oppressed, are anxiously and hopefully waiting the dawn of freedom which will be born here. The Mozambican people, the Mozambican revolution, need your commitment, your struggle. You have a decisive weapon in your hand which is FRELIMO's political line on the emancipation of women. We must once more underline the most important aspects of our thought.

The exploitation of women is an aspect of the general system of exploitation of man by man. This exploitation creates the conditions for the alienation of women; it reduces them to passivity and excludes them from the sphere of decision-making in society. The antagonistic contradictions which thus exist, are between women and the exploitative social order. These contradictions are between all the exploited masses in our country and in the world, and the exploiting classes. Only revolution can definitively resolve this contradiction, because it alone is the incarnation of the interests of the exploited masses; it mobilises, organises and unites them for the struggle; it alone can destroy the old social order. Revolution puts the exploited masses in power, the masses who lived under oppression and were forced into passivity.

Our people's armed struggle against colonialism and imperialism is the fundamental starting point for the Mozambican revolution; the moment of the unleashing of the process of liberation of our land, women and men. The armed struggle which is gaining in popularity in our country acts like an incubator in which the revolutionary process starts to take root.

The centuries-old experience of exploitation and suffering of the women and men of Mozambique and the discovery of the freedom born of the people's power in the areas under our control, have made our people receptive to ideas of progress and revolution. The conditions are ripe for an offensive on the women's liberation front, an important moment in the revolutionary struggle.

We already know what our strategy and tactics should be in the struggle, in which we will not only have to fight against the colonialist enemy, but will also have to face the opposition aroused by erroneous concepts rooted in the minds of

both women and men.

It is essential that women be involved in FRELIMO, for only FRELIMO is in a position to take up all the interests of the exploited masses of our country and thus formulate the concrete line of battle.

The OMM which is being formed is emerging in the FRELIMO structure as a new arm of our revolution which must reach the broad masses of women who until now have remained marginal to the process of transformation which is taking place in our country. The OMM must draw into the struggle for the emancipation of women and into the national revolutionary struggle the millions of our countrywomen.

Our struggle is not an isolated struggle. The Mozambican Women's fight, the Mozambican people's fight, is an integral part of the world-wide front of struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, and for the construction of a new popular social order.

For this very reason we feel that the struggle of our sisters and brothers in Angola, who, under the leadership of the MPLA, have been fighting Portuguese colonialism and imperialism for twelve years is our own. We feel that the struggle of our sisters and brothers in Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde, who, led by the PAIGC have been fighting Portuguese colonialism and imperialism since 1963, is our own struggle.

Hence we feel bereaved by the recent assassination of our comrade Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC. This barbarous crime, like the assassination of our first President, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, is an attempt to stop the revolutionary advance of our peoples. It failed in Mozambique and it will fail in Guinea-Bissau.

The fight for the consolidation of independence and for revolutionary development in Tanzania and Zambia, Somalia, Congo, Guinea and the whole of Africa is our fight, the fight to consolidate our strategic rear.

The recent victory of the heroic peoples of Vietnam and Indochina, is a great incentive in our struggle. The women and men of Vietnam, of a small country, of an economically backward country, succeeded in defeating the largest and most cruel imperialist power in the world, the United States of America.

We feel encouraged by the successes achieved by our sisters and brothers in the socialist countries, who are building a new society of freedom and progress for women and men.

The women and men of Mozambique congratulate the Portuguese people for the intensification of the struggle against colonial war and fascism in Portugal. The opening of the fourth battle front against Portuguese colonialism in Portugal itself, consolidates the solidarity and friendship of our peoples.

We salute all peoples, we salute the women and men of all continents, who anonymously are like us, fighting to build a new society. To all of them we say that our people's struggle will be intensified, our revolution will be consolidated and triumphant, thus contributing towards the common victory.

Long Live the First Conference of Mozambican Women!
Long Live the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women!
Long Live the Mozambican Revolution!
Long Live the Struggle of the Mozambican people, united from the Rovuma to the Maputo!

Long Live Africa!
Long Live the Organisation of Mozambican Women!
Long Live FRELIMO!

A LUTA CONTINUA. INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE. VENCEREMOS.

4 EDUCATE man to Win the War, Create a new Society and Develop our Country

Speech at the Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, September 1970.

Comrade delegates to the Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture,
Comrades,

We are happy to take part in this 2nd Conference of the Department of Education and Culture because Culture and Education are fundamental problems of our people on which the creation of a new mentality ultimately depends. We also believe that meeting and discussing our work and methods is the most reliable way of guiding our action.

This Conference is starting at a time when we are celebrating the most important date in our history. The fact that this Conference is taking place is a result of our struggle, of the fierce struggle against colonialism, and the tough and tricky struggle against reactionary forces among us. It is a victory of the many who have sacrificed their lives to drive out the Portuguese colonialists and to expose the new exploiters.

The Conference therefore takes on special significance, for bloodshed and sacrifice lie behind it. It was made possible by the clarification and consolidation embarked on amid our ranks.

We must therefore carry on the work that has just been started and avoid patting ourselves on the back for victories achieved, forgetting the very great deal that remains to be done.

Because our Education has been born of bloodshed, it is only right that we should pay tribute to those who have fallen for our country. More than anyone else, Eduardo Mondlane symbolised our struggle to free Man from the colonial yoke and from obscurantism.

I therefore request that we observe a minute of silence in his memory and in memory of all the comrades who have laid down their lives.

This Conference has set itself the task of analysing the work achieved, discovering the errors and shortcomings in our activity and, based on our principles, promoting the implementation of the task entrusted to the Department by FRELIMO's leading organs.

Other documents to be submitted to the Conference contain detailed analyses of the work done, of the great deal that has been done and the vast amount we still have to do. Here we wish simply to put forward a few themes for reflection which, as they express the preoccupations of FRELIMO's leadership, will help to guide us in our work.

After demonstrating the harmfulness of both traditional and colonial education,

we should like to explain the educational goals we have set ourselves in relation to the new society we are struggling for.

At the same time, it is essential that we establish guiding lines which take into account the immediate imperatives of the situation, the need to unite the people, to deepen our knowledge of our country's society and environment, to advance the war and to reconstruct the nation.

Finally, we wish to formulate what seem to us the most correct methods of facing problems successfully within a revolutionary perspective.

1 *Education and Society*

Each society always seeks to ensure its survival through new generations, passing on its accumulated knowledge and experience. However, since society exists within the framework of its structures, its survival obviously involves the perpetuation of these structures, however oppressive they may be. In this context, the education that is passed on, because it is a reflection of an actual society, serves to justify that society: its economic structures, its social customs, its ethical and artistic concepts, in short, the culture of that society.

In the present phase in Mozambique, there are three antagonistic types of education, two of them reflecting societies which are on their way out and the third directed towards the future.

(a) Traditional education and the paralysis of society

Although the colonialists dealt a powerful blow to traditional society, traditional education is still the dominant form of education in Mozambique.

Owing to their superficial knowledge of nature, members of traditional society conceive of it as a series of forces of supernatural origin which are to varying degrees hostile to man. Hence the fact that superstition takes the place of science in education. Furthermore, the poor development of the traditional economy based on subsistence agriculture results in the isolation of the community.

Taking advantage of the superstition among the masses and the community's isolation, certain social groups are able to maintain their retrograde rule over society.

In this context education aims at passing on tradition, which is raised to the level of a dogma. The system of age groups and initiation rites is intended to keep the youth under the sway of old ideas, to destroy their initiative. All that is new, different and foreign is opposed in the name of tradition. Thus all progress is prevented and the society survives in a completely static way.

Women are regarded as second class human beings, subjected to the humiliating practice of polygamy, acquired through a gift made to their families, inherited by the husband's family on his death, and educated to serve man passively.

(b) The colonial education system based on social discrimination.

Whereas innovation and science are seen to disrupt the fossilised structures of the past, conversely capitalism uses them to exploit men more.

The more traditional society fights individualism, the more capitalism promotes it, in that it creates in the exploiter the required mentality for exploiting his victim and prevents the exploited from uniting with their comrades to overcome oppression.

In Mozambique, a colonial country, social discrimination in education is accentuated by racial discrimination. Education is reserved almost exclusively for the children of settlers, and particularly higher education, which is for the children of rich settlers.

In addition to its overall purpose of reinforcing bourgeois oppression, colonial education seeks particularly to de-personalise the Mozambican. Removed from his people whom he is taught to look down upon, isolated by the individualism instilled in him, with no dimension in time provided by his own history, ignorant by the space determined by his own geography, living on imported ideas, deformed by the decadent attitudes of colonial society, the Mozambican is supposed to become a black-skinned Portuguese, a docile tool of colonialism whose highest ambition is to live like the settler in whose image he is created.

(c) Revolutionary education and the creation of the New Man

When we took up arms to defeat the old order, we felt the obscure need to create a new society, strong, healthy and prosperous, in which men free from all exploitation would cooperate for the progress of all.

In the course of our struggle, in the tough fight we have had to wage against reactionary elements, we came to understand our objectives more clearly. We felt especially that the struggle to create new structures would fail without the creation of a new mentality.

Creating an attitude of solidarity between people to enable them to carry out collective work presupposes the elimination of individualism. Developing a healthy and revolutionary morality which promotes the liberation of women and the creation of a new generation with a collective feeling of responsibility requires the destruction of inherited corrupt ideas and tastes. In order to lay the foundations of a prosperous and advanced economy, science has to overcome superstition. To unite all Mozambicans, transcending traditions and different languages, requires that the tribe must die in our consciousness so that the nation may be born.

What I mean by this is that to us education does not mean teaching how to read and write, creating an elite group of graduates, with no direct relationship to our objectives. In other words, just as one can wage an armed struggle without carrying out a revolution, one can also learn without educating oneself in a revolutionary way. We do not want to form an educated elite at the service of an exploitative group. We do not want science to be used to enrich a minority, oppress man and stifle the creative initiative of the masses, the inexhaustible source of collective progress. Each of us must assume his revolutionary responsibilities in education, regarding books, study, as tools at the exclusive service of the masses. Studying must be seen as a revolutionary task to be combined with the revolutionary tasks of production and fighting. He who studies should be like a spark lighting the flame which is the people.

The principal task of education, in our teaching, textbooks and programmes, is to instill in each of us the advanced, scientific, objective and collective ideology which enables us to progress in the revolutionary process.

Education must prepare us to internalise the new society and its requirements.

Education must give us a Mozambican personality which, without subservience of any kind and steeped in our own realities, will be able, in contact with the out-

side world, to assimilate critically the ideas and experiences of other peoples, also passing on to them the fruits of our thought and practice.

We need a consciousness of responsibility and collective solidarity, free from all individualism and corruption. We have to acquire a scientific attitude, open and free from the dead weight of superstition and dogmatic traditions.

We need particularly to create a new attitude in women, emancipating their consciousness and behaviour, and at the same time instil in men new behaviour and attitudes towards women.

We must make everyone aware of the need to serve the people, to participate in production. to respect manual labour, to release creative initiative and to develop a sense of responsibility. In short, what we want is a revolutionary mentality which uses science to serve the people.

Our continued progress depends on the new generation. For the first time in our history, there are children, young people, growing up away from colonialism, away from dogmatic traditions. There is a generation, the first, which is being formed in the heat of the revolution. This is the generation which will be called upon in the 20 years to come to carry on the task we are starting. They are the plant nursery from which will come the selected plants ensuring the ultimate triumph of the revolution.

In this respect the task of teachers and cadres in education is an extraordinarily delicate one, because like us they grew up and were formed in the old world, and carry within them many bad habits and defects, a lot of individualism and ambition, many corrupt and superstitious attitudes which are harmful and might contaminate the new generation.

Teachers and education cadres must behave like the doctor who, before approaching the patient in the operating theatre, disinfects and sterilises himself so as not to infect the patient.

Through constant meetings, through continual criticism and self-criticism, teachers and education cadres must eliminate old ideas and tastes, so as to be able to acquire the new mentality and pass it on to the next generation.

How would we classify a doctor or nurse who contaminates patients? Who instead of caring for them and saving them, passes on diseases to them?

We must show maximum severity towards anyone among the teachers and education cadres who displays subjectivism, individualism, tribalism, arrogance, superstition or ignorance.

In short, the teacher, the education cadre, united with the masses, must wage an internal struggle, must disinfect himself, getting rid of the old and wholly internalising the new.

II The Present Situation and Its Requirements

Apart from the long-term task of creating a new mentality, there are requirements of the present situation which education is called upon to meet. We cannot create a new society without destroying the old, without overthrowing colonialism and its vestiges, without creating the economic foundations for advancing the war and our society.

(a) The unity of the people and education

One of the prime concerns of education should be the unity of the people. Colonialism sought to accentuate all ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural divisions

there might be among the Mozambican people. At the same time, traditional education by extolling the cult of the linguistic community to which a person belongs, instills in him an attitude of contempt, and at times even of hatred, towards other communities.

In our teaching we should bring out the similarities in the conditions of the Mozambican people as a whole. We should explain how colonialism exploits every region. The pupil needs to realise that the Mueda peasants' struggle against cotton growing is no different to the struggle of the sugar cane growers on the banks of the Zambezi, that the struggle of the stevedores in Lourenço Marques is the same as that of the miners in Tete. Workers shipped from Nampula to Sao Tomé or to the Lourenço Marques railways suffer the same exploitation as the men from Gaza who are sold to South Africa. The fishermen and rice cultivators in Manica e Sofala are exploited by the same foreigner as occupies the oilfields of Inhambane. Taxes were just as crushing a burden on the people of Niassa who, like all Mozambicans, never saw a school or hospital which catered for them.

At the same time, the pupil must identify with the heroic traditions of our whole country: the fight of Maguigane, the resistance of Barué, the splendour of Sofala and the magnificence of Monomotapa.

Mozambique's cultural wealth does not belong to any one region. The contribution of the Zavala marimba players is as much a source of pride to us as Makonde sculpture and the gold filigree work of the Tete goldsmiths. In this connection, we should like to hail the decision to invite Mozambican sculptors to teach the boys and girls at the Tunduru Pilot School the wonders of their art. We hope that there will be more and more similar initiatives in the fields of painting, goldsmithing, iron and copper working, artistic handicrafts, mat-making, basketry, etc.

Regionalism, tribalism and the attitude of looking down on other communities are the result of ignorance, of lack of knowledge of other values. No one loves what he does not know.

This is why we regard the First Cultural Festival the DEC proposes to hold as a valuable contribution to our national unity, for the development of our culture. It is to be hoped that regional and provincial festivals will be held prior and subsequent to the First Cultural Festival. Let art seek to combine old form with new content, then giving rise to new form. Let painting, written literature, theatre and artistic handicrafts be added to the traditionally cultivated dance, sculpture and singing. Let the creativity of some become that of all, men and women young and old, from the North to the South, so that the new revolutionary and Mozambican culture may be born of all.

In the schools, on the classroom benches, in the house and canteens and in production, we should always endeavour to join pupils and teachers from different regions, so that through day-to-day familiarity we rid ourselves of regional reflexes and acquire Mozambican feelings and consciousness.

It is by uniting in work that we really unite. Teachers and pupils should work side by side at all tasks, because there are no greater or lesser tasks in the Revolution, only revolutionary tasks. Because words have no life without practice, a body without flesh is a skeleton and a body without bones cannot stay upright on its own, it is necessary constantly to transform the assertion of unity into the practice of unity. Uniting with one another means knowing and understanding one another. It is in joint effort, in sweat expended at the same time, in the tree trunk torn out by combining

our strength, in the dance composed through the creativity of minds working together that knowing and understanding come into being and unity is consolidated.

(b) Knowledge of the society and environment

In our struggle against the colonialists, one of the decisive factors for our victory is that we are struggling in our own country, that is, in a society and on a terrain which are ours and which we know better than anyone.

The development of our struggle requires that we constantly deepen our knowledge of our country, that this knowledge become increasingly scientific.

Studying the history, geography, zoology, botany and mineralogy of our land will enable us to know how to use our resources better.

It should be considered especially that our people have a great deal of knowledge about the resources of nature, even though this knowledge is empirical and often distorted by superstition. In our education we should encourage teachers and pupils to compile the empirical knowledge of the masses and analyse it critically and objectively so as to develop our knowledge and science for the benefit of society.

It is also necessary to promote constant discussion and study on the usages and customs of each region, so as to know them better, assimilate them and purify them through criticism.

Each of us must understand that the task he is called upon to perform is in Mozambique. In other words, Mozambique is not a given region, village or province, but a vast country with a great diversity of conditions which we need to understand if we are to be effective.

(c) Technology and the advance of the struggle

We are confronting an enemy army which is backed by all the resources of modern technology, and in order to face up to the growing needs of the masses and the war we are obliged to continually increase and diversify production. At the same time, our social and administrative needs require the use of more personnel and more complex technology.

While it is true that it is in military camps and especially in the field that we discover the ways of destroying the enemy's military machine, it is still necessary to impart a minimum of scientific knowledge to militants, to cadres, to enable them to increase their mastery of military technology.

Production requires ever more attention. In facing up to the needs of the masses under war conditions we should rely above all on our own efforts. However, diversifying production, improving techniques, using nature to fight against natural calamities, digging wells and irrigation channels, building dams and so forth, requires of us knowledge we do not always have.

We want pupils to acquire such practical knowledge at school. Cotton spinning and weaving should be taught with the natural sciences; the theory and practice of building dams and irrigation channels should be combined with arithmetic and physics; there should be practice in building water wheels, mills turned by animals and windmills. In short, there is a great deal of scientific and practical knowledge which would help us to develop our agriculture and promote the establishment of such craft-based industries as cabinet making, carpentry, masonry, pottery, soap making, spinning and weaving, making furnaces for iron production, kilns for bricks, etc.

Combining education with production means above all the theoretical and practical acquisition of knowledge to be made available for production, administration, social services and combat.

III *Revolution and Education Methods*

It is obvious that if we are to solve all the problems that face us successfully we must use methods suited to our situation.

To be effective, our methods must derive from our principles and practice, they must be based on that which constitutes our strength.

(a) Education and the mass line

Our chief strength, the primary cause of all we do, is the people. In solving our problems we should rely first on them, following a mass line. In other words, we should rely on the people in defining our objective interests and struggling to achieve them.

Only by following this line can we distinguish the essential from the secondary, the immediate from the long term, defining what are our interests and distinguishing that which belongs to the enemy from that which is ours. These principles also apply to our work in education.

The chief characteristic of the situation in education in our country is the illiteracy prevailing among the overwhelming majority of our people, as well as the obscurantist practices caused by colonialism and superstition.

The main battle in the field of education is therefore against illiteracy and obscurantism. If we are to succeed, we must mobilise the masses in this battle, making them aware of the need to learn and showing them the catastrophic consequences of ignorance. Without the active participation of the masses in the battle against illiteracy it will not be possible to wipe it out, and without an understanding of the evils introduced by obscurantism nothing will make them struggle against it.

It is also by following the mass line that we define the priorities and establish the education programme. How are we to know, for example, where we should devote the greatest efforts, whether in literacy teaching, higher education, training primary school teachers or establishing secondary education? Should a pupil who has completed primary education carry on with his studies or should he devote himself to teaching literacy? Should we be content to state that 20,000 children in the liberated areas are receiving schooling when in those same areas there are still hundreds of thousands of children who have no contact with any school? Should we give priority to children or to the army, which is the backbone of our movement?

These are extremely serious problems requiring deep thought. The priorities in our education work have not as yet been properly established, and this 2nd Conference must make a careful study of the problem.

(b) Learning war in the war

This problem stems mainly from the concept that a pupil needs continuous education, that is, that the pupil must remain in school from primary level until he obtains his higher education diploma.

However, the circumstances under which we are living, of war and massive illiteracy, demand concepts and methods which meet both our future objectives and our

most immediate objectives, for unless these are solved there will be no future. This means that instead of continuous education we should give priority to permanent and progressive education. We mean that all militants should at all times be able to raise their technical, cultural and political level. At the same time it means that after priorities have been established, some people will be selected for special crash courses, so that they can then impart their newly-acquired knowledge to broader sectors of the people.

In the final analysis, this is the method we have already been using successfully for some years in our war. As soon as a fighter receives a minimum of training, he goes into battle where he further develops his practical knowledge and passes it on to others. Some are selected from the battlefield for more advanced training, and they then return to raise the general level. We do not wait to train generals in order to fight battles.

(c) Relying on our own forces

Stemming from what we have just said is the principle of relying on our own forces. We do not wait for others to come and solve our problems for us. We do not wait for help from outside in order to face situations we come up against.

We are all aware that to solve the problems of education and to prepare textbooks and programmes, highly specialised personnel are required.

It seems to us that more productive use should be made of the higher cadres in education – both national and foreign. We feel that these people should devote themselves primarily to training and refresher courses for education cadres, the drawing up and supervision of programmes and correspondence courses. In short, the programmes should be directed towards raising the general level, which is a fundamental need in our war. In line with this, we think it would be wasteful to use foreign teachers solely for teaching secondary school pupils, who will only be productive in the long term, when the very requirements of education call for cadres with a minimal scientific base to teach literacy to children, the army, workers in cooperatives and the militia. This approach might land us in the situation of some independent countries which have a few hundred graduates on the one hand, and a vast mass of illiterates on the other, without the middle cadres needed to ensure a proper output from the higher cadres. It is like a house with a roof but no foundations.

Let us pool our little knowledge and it will add up to a great deal. Let us discuss frequently, subjecting our ideas and knowledge to criticism and practice, studying a lot, holding regional and provincial seminars to increase our knowledge and exchange experiences. Let us try to organise correspondence courses to raise the knowledge of teachers and cadres.

Conclusions

If we rely on the masses, learning war in the war and relying on our own forces, we shall be able to win the battle of education. We have already achieved a great deal and this 2nd Conference shows us the distance we have covered since 1962, when education meant only the Mozambique Institute and good will in helping a few militants in Dar es Salaam.

Today our education means thousands and thousands of children in schools in

liberated Mozambique, hundreds of teachers, adults studying, secondary education being re-organised, and about two hundred Mozambicans following technical and higher education courses abroad.

It is appropriate here to congratulate all the comrades who have made this reality possible, and in particular to pay tribute to the memory of our beloved President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. We must also congratulate his wife, Comrade Janet Mondlane. These two comrades were among the first to understand that the destruction of obscurantism, of ignorance, was a fundamental task in our struggle.

May this Conference, may the Department of Education and Culture put into practice the watchword we are here issuing: Educate man to win the war, create a new society and develop our country.

A LUTA CONTINUA. INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE. VENCEREMOS.

5 OUR HEALTH SERVICE'S role in the Revolution

Speech at the beginning of a course for health cadres, in November 1971

Comrades,

Today we are starting a new course for training nurses. In 1968 we were forced to suspend such courses and they were stopped for three years. For three years our struggle and our people were deprived of new health cadres. In the past three years fighters have died for lack of medical care, members of the population have died, children have died, because we were not in a position to provide even a minimum of medical aid. In many of the liberated areas, and for many of the people, these past three years were not years of struggle against disease. Our people were forgotten, as in the colonial period, during those three years.

Three years ago we engaged in the battle to train health cadres. We lost the battle at that time. There is no war in which there are only victories for us and defeat for the enemy.

We lost the battle because the political awareness of our nursing students was not such as to permit a true grasp of the meaning and importance of the battle that was being fought, and they thus allowed the enemy to come in their midst.

In 1968, our armed struggle made big advances. We were shelling enemy bases and taking them by assault. We were taking Portuguese prisoners of war and capturing tons of arms. We reopened the fighting front in Tete.

The essential struggle for the clarity of our political line and for the development of our ideology made the popular objectives of the revolutionary forces quite clear to all of us.

This struggle involved the health workers. It was also a struggle between two lines in the field of health. It was a struggle in defence of the people's interests in that field.

What is a Frelimo Hospital and What are its Tasks?

It might at first seem absurd to talk about a political line, a struggle between two lines in the field of health. It might at first be thought that FRELIMO wishes to politicise something as apparently neutral as health. In the final analysis, those who believe in apolitical health would say, penicillin and chloroquin have the same effect whether administered by a revolutionary or not, whether given in a FRELIMO hospital or in a colonial hospital.

Yet all our actions, our whole life, are utterly and radically different from the actions and life in the enemy areas.

In the enemy zone, in the colonialist zone, in the capitalist zone, everything is

intended to maintain domination over the people, to maintain the exploitation of the people and to provide profits for the capitalists.

In the capitalist zone, in the colonialist zone, the roads serve the rapid transportation of the army and police who seize you and take you off to forced labour. Roads are fast routes for coming to collect your taxes. Roads are used to transport the cotton which you produced but which belongs to the company. They are used by the trader who comes to sell back to you at fantastic prices, goods which you and your class brothers produced, and for which the colonialists pay starvation prices.

In the enemy zone, schools are for the children of the rich, even though it is your taxes that finance them. If, by some miracle, a poor man's son sometimes goes to school, it is not in order to learn how to serve his people. He will be brainwashed by the school until he is ashamed of his origins, and turned into an instrument of the rich for the further exploitation of the workers.

Everything has a content determined by the zone in which it is, by the kind of power that prevails in that zone. In the capitalist and colonialist zone, schools, fields, roads, courts, shops, technology, laws and education – everything serves to oppress and exploit us.

In our zone, because we have power, because it is the peasants, the workers, the working masses who plan and lead, everything is directed towards liberating man, serving the people. This is what happens with the hospitals, the health services.

In the capitalist and colonialist zone, hospitals are among the centres of exploitation. Because what is at stake is a person's life, the lives of one's nearest and dearest, this is where the greed of the capitalist world shows itself most clearly and shamelessly.

One cannot enter and be treated in a capitalist hospital in accordance with one's needs. If one is poor and without power of influence, it is difficult to get a hospital bed, even if cancer is devouring your flesh, tuberculosis eating away your lungs, or fever burning your body. The rich man, the gentleman, the boss, has not the slightest difficulty in getting a room, in finding place for himself and those who accompany him.

Eminent doctors and university professors are brought in to treat the capitalist's cold, to cure the judge's constipation, while nearby children are dying, people are dying, because they did not have the money to call a doctor.

In a capitalist hospital they do not examine patients, they examine wealth. Medicine is sold for its weight in gold. Only those who can pay are treated. Food, special diet, fruit, milk, salad, meat and fine fish restore the convalescent's strength. But they are given only to those who can pay, not to those who need them. Even the ambulance sent off in an emergency to fetch someone who is dying often comes back empty because the dying man's family cannot guarantee to pay the bill.

In the enemy zone, the rich man's dog gets more in the way of vaccinations, medicine and medical care than do the workers upon whom the rich man's wealth is built.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the enemy zone to be a doctor means to be rich, and to be a nurse means very high salary. To be a doctor is to enjoy a position of social prominence as an exploiter, to be a nurse means to enjoy many privileges.

In the Mozambique of the colonialists and capitalists there are hospitals only

where there are settlers. There are only doctors and nurses where people who can pay live. In Lourenço Marques there are more hospital beds, more doctors, more nurses and more laboratories than in all the rest of Mozambique. Does this mean that Lourenço Marques is the only place where people get sick?

In the mines where we work, on the company plantations that we cultivate, on the roads that we build, in the factories, in the fields, in the villages, there are millions of Mozambicans who have never seen a doctor, who have never seen a nurse, who have never had any medical care when they are ill.

Our hospital is different. It is not surgical instruments, or medicines that make a hospital. These are of course important, but the main thing, the decisive fact, is the human factor. This is why today, for the first time, the people in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete are receiving medical care and vaccinations, and hygiene is being taught in the villages. Yet we have still very little medicine, very few surgical instruments, and our buildings are so modest that from outside one can barely distinguish them from ordinary grass huts.

Our hospitals belong to the people. They are a fruit of the Revolution. Our hospitals are far more than centres for dispensing medicines and cures. A FRELIMO hospital is a centre where our political line — that of serving the masses — is put into practice. It is a centre where our principle that the Revolution frees the people becomes a reality.

Our hospitals are intended to free the people from disease, to make our fighters, militants and workers physically fit so that they can fulfil the revolutionary tasks in which they are engaged. We cure people through the confidence we inspire, through the high morale we instill in them. Health workers, patients and medicines all combine to free people from disease.

Our hospitals are centres of the Revolution, they exist because of the Revolution, and are closely associated with the Revolution.

Whereas the capitalist hospitals have links with the exploiters, the settlers, because that is whom they serve, our hospitals have links with the people, because they are there to serve them. Thus our hospital is a centre of national unity, a centre of class unity, a centre of clarification of ideas, a centre of revolutionary and organisational propaganda, a combat unit. Medical staff, students, orderlies, patients and society as a whole are all closely united.

In a FRELIMO hospital there are no tribes, no regions, no races, no religious beliefs — there is nothing to divide us. The hospital is accomplishing a revolutionary task. Medical staff, students and hospital orderlies are carrying out the essential tasks entrusted to them by the people. The whole people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, through their sacrifices and bloodshed, built this hospital to serve them, to free them from disease. No one is sent to work in a hospital by any tribe or region.

As the patients feel the unity of those working in the hospital, from doctors to orderlies, they will unite with the medical and non-medical staff, and they will all combine their efforts to wipe out disease. If there is disunity, there will be distrust; the patient will refuse medicines for fear that the treatment he is being given will make his condition worse.

We are all united in the fulfilment of our tasks. There are no menial or unimportant tasks for us, just because I might be an orderly and someone else a nurse or a doctor. All of our tasks are essential, even though our responsibilities may be different. Feeling any inferiority complex in the carrying out of our tasks and worry

ing about whether we are being given big or small jobs means a lack of class consciousness. We all come from the working people and we are serving the working people. Our task is therefore a great one. Any other attitude merely reflects elitism, privilege-seeking, the loss of class consciousness and the adoption of bourgeois ideas.

Just as we disinfect ourselves on entering an operating theatre, so must we cleanse ourselves of incorrect ideas and complexes which could contaminate our hospital. Just as we put on masks and smocks, so we must always be armed with our unity and class consciousness, so as to serve the people in a revolutionary way. In this way, our hospital will really be a centre of revolutionary and organisational propaganda, a concrete example of the correctness of our political line – a true FRELIMO area. Thus, a hospital performs our tasks fighting disease, moulding people and producing.

Production cannot be separated from our health work. A hospital needs food. Often the local population and FRELIMO are unable to supply the hospital because we are at war, because the enemy is attacking us, because our production is one of the enemy's targets. A hospital must therefore try to rely on its own resources, to be as self-sufficient in food as possible.

On the other hand, we must not forget the importance of an adequate diet in the proper treatment of disease. Patients need to eat properly in order to get well again. Fruit, salads, green vegetables, meat, eggs, fish and milk are the foods containing the vitamins, salts, minerals and proteins that strengthen the body in the fight against disease.

Since a hospital is a centre of production, it is also a centre for the education of patients. We must not neglect any opportunity of heightening our people's political consciousness and knowledge. In our hospitals there should be no inactivity, no laziness. Moreover, experience has shown that involving patients and especially convalescents in activities, boosts their morale and is an important contribution to their recovery.

This said, we should like to suggest that our hospitals should constantly endeavour to widen their range of activities in cooperation with the Political Commissariat and the Department of Education and Culture. We must teach patients and convalescents to read and write, teach them Portuguese, and make sure that they know, understand and regard as their own the cultural wealth of our entire country.

We must organise short courses on hygiene for patients, so that they acquire good hygienic habits, which prevent many diseases.

We want all those who come to our hospitals for treatment to become active disseminators of methods of hygiene when they leave. We must also remember that in many regions of our country people have very bad eating habits. It is important that the people acquire new eating habits; therefore we should hold short courses for patients in the hospitals, especially for mothers, explaining to them the nutritional value of various foods and even how to prepare them.

We can never neglect political work, since this task always has first priority. A patient's stay in hospital should serve to heighten his awareness of national unity, his determination to fight and his hatred of the exploiting enemy.

It will now be seen why we define a FRELIMO hospital as one of our fighting detachments, a front line.

Our nurses, our medical staff, besides having their specific tasks, are also instructors, teachers, political commissars. The activity of our revolutionary medical staff not only cures the body but also frees and forms the mind. The enemy understands this

very well – so much so that they have made our hospitals one of the main targets of their bombing raids and of their criminal troops.

The Hospital – A Front Line

In starting this course we are opening up a new fighting front. In starting this course we are creating conditions to open new hospitals, more centres in which FRELIMO's political line is put into practice. New hospitals are new front lines.

When we open a new front, we can say that the struggle has grown; but we have also enlarged the target, we have given the enemy another target. In 1968, as we said, we were forced to retreat, we were forced to suspend the course. We lost a battle. Today we are re-launching the battle, backed by the experience gained through our successes and failures.

When we launch a battle, if we are to succeed it is essential we know the enemy, define our methods and know where our strength lies. In our struggle, we face three enemies:

– the direct enemy
– the indirect enemy
– the enemy hidden in our midst.

The Portuguese colonialists are our direct enemy. They attack us openly, physically. They come in their planes and bomb our hospitals, they attack us from their helicopters, they send in their troops to murder our patients, to destroy our equipment and to prevent medicines from reaching their destination. Colonialism is the most easily identifiable enemy, because it is open and attacks with weapons of war.

More dangerous, because they are more easily believed than the colonialists, are our indirect enemies, Portugal's allies, those who fight us under cover, behind the Portuguese troops. They fight us with newspaper articles, rumours, slander. Today they will say that we are selling medicine, and tomorrow they will say one or another region is looked down upon in our hospitals. One day they will write that we are incompetent, and the next that the people don't trust our hospitals. And the campaign will continue, to divide us, undermine our confidence and subtly force us to surrender. Every error, every mistake we make will be used by them as irrefutable proof that everything they say is true.

But above all, in order to defeat us, in order to deprive our people of medical care again, the enemy, whether direct or indirect, relies on the work of its forces in our midst. The decisive force that can defeat us is the hidden enemy in our midst, he who holds high the banner of FRELIMO with us in order to destroy FRELIMO more easily.

This has been our experience, this was the main reason for our defeat in 1968, the reason for the suspension of the courses. Having infiltrated its spies among us, the enemy fostered tribalism, racism, selfishness, ambition, elitism, ignorance, superstition, religious fanaticism and corruption. Each of these is an enemy detachment in our midst.

Tribalism divided the students, made them counter-revolutionary and caused them to fight against the FRELIMO leadership, against FRELIMO and against the people. Each saw himself as representing the interests of this or that region, meticu

lously seeking to assess whether another linguistic group had more students on the course than his, spreading mistrust and disunity amongst us.

Racism led to disunity between students and teachers. Claiming to be very revolutionary, students who had yet to show proof of true revolutionary commitment fought against teachers who had already given ample proof of their dedication to the people's cause, solely because the teachers were white.

Combining selfishness and ambition, the students rejected a programme of studies planned to meet the immediate and urgent needs of the struggle and demanded programmes that would give them diplomas and privileges so that they could exploit the people in the future. They wanted to become an elite of parasites, acquiring wealth and social prominence at the expense of the people's suffering.

Ignorance, superstition and religious fanaticism also caused the students to believe in non-existent supernatural forces, in amulets and stones, scorning science and rejecting the lessons of the teachers, which were founded on the laws of nature, on objective reality. It was in this climate that indiscipline, anarchy, corruption and chaos were fostered.

The battle had been lost. The indirect enemy published articles in their newspapers on the "revolt of the revolutionary students against the leadership of FRELIMO." The colonialists were delighted and intensified the campaign to reinforce the enemy in our midst: old ideas and the habits of the old society.

Our people were for a long time crushed under the dead weight of obsolete and reactionary traditions and colonialist and capitalist ideas. Many students, cadres, medical workers and leading cadres have still not shaken off the burden of a corrupt past.

There are those who envisage a Mozambique reduced to the tiny scale of one linguistic group or region. No matter how important it may be, no organ can live outside the body. An arm or a leg rots if it is no longer supplied with the body's blood, if it is separated from its unity with the body.

Through the unity we create among ourselves, by the revolutionary way in which hospitals serve the people, we give the masses a concrete demonstration of the need to make the nation live and to ensure the death of tribalism. Just as we kill germs and harmful bacteria to protect the patient, a hospital must be a living example of the extermination of the contagious microbe which is tribalism, so that the nation may live.

Others seek the answers to concrete problems in the supernatural, which is born of ignorance. They cannot yet see that the answer to all problems depends absolutely on the combination of intelligence and energy with the objective laws that govern natural and social phenomena.

They seek answers in the heavens when answers can be found on earth. Because the people see science at work, because the people see the results of science, because we continually explain to the patients and people the origins of disease and ways of fighting it, our hospitals can become bases of struggle against obscurantism.

The more we believe in mankind, the more superstition among the people will be destroyed. The more our work demonstrates the value of science, the more supernatural obscurantism will be made to retreat.

Some regard themselves as irreplaceable, as being all things in themselves. Full of arrogance, they refuse to learn from others or to share their knowledge, rejoicing at the failures of their comrades. By acting in this manner, they are trying to create

conditions which will allow them to establish themselves as a privileged class, to exploit the masses and have their own wretched whims prevail. To consolidate their position, they both accept and spread rumours and intrigues, selfishly confining themselves to their own petty interests.

Individualism, selfishness, ambition and arrogance are germs carrying division, incubators of the old ideas of the exploiting society.

Because we have come a long way, because everyone is joining the struggle, we sometimes find in our midst people who used to be accustomed to banditry. These people often introduce their vices into the new society.

Some of them may steal medicines, sheets, or food. Others betraying the confidence of patients, may use delicate secrets they know to satisfy their taste for intrigue and their ambition.

There may also be those who use their position to try to corrupt the youth, contaminating the new generation with their low instincts. This kind of behaviour has to be fought. A nurse who destroyed bottles of plasma in a hospital would be regarded as criminal. A nurse who poisoned patients would be regarded as a criminal. Our revolutionary morality, our principles, are our plasma, and the new society we are building is our life. Our fight is against our enemy, against those who want to destroy our plasma, our blood, those who want to take our life.

Our methods of struggle

On the health front it is our medical personnel who are our operational forces. They are vanguard forces in our movement, in our Revolution.

The medical staff represent our political line of serving the masses in the hospital.

A strong bond of trust and hope is established between the patient and the nurse or doctor who is treating him. The patient associates the alleviation of pain and the curing of disease with the work of the nurse or doctor.

This confidence of the patient and of his family and friends is an extraordinary political asset which we must use to advance the Revolution. On the basis of the confidence that is established, we must help the patient to take the road of national unity, to increase his class consciousness and to learn more about hygiene, science and culture. In short, treatment of the body should be accompanied by corresponding treatment of the mind, in order that the new mentality may triumph.

One needs a vocation, a natural enthusiasm for this type of work. This vocation is closely related to and guided by consciousness and the requirements of the struggle.

Whereas in the capitalist zone, a vocation combined with the desire for profits and privilege is corrupted and stranded, in our zone, since one's vocation is combined with sound political consciousness, it becomes a powerful incentive in our work.

Precisely because we regard man as the decisive factor, in training our medical personnel, priority must be given to political education, to political consciousness. The experience of seven years of struggle has amply proved that despite their low technical level and lack of medicines our medical personnel have been able to do very much more for the people than the colonialist health services with all their technology and means. With two doctors we did more work than the colonialist health services which have dozens and even hundreds of doctors. These results are evidence of the vital importance of the political line pursued by us.

Political education means above all cultivating political consciousness in the students and medical and hospital staff, developing the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist spirit, increasing understanding of oppression and making class consciousness and feeling more deep-rooted.

Members of the hospital staff are in constant contact with the human suffering caused by exploitation and ignorance. This involvement with suffering should serve to sharpen political consciousness, increase the knowledge of the medical staff, and strengthen their determination to fight the enemy, to fight disease and to fight ignorance.

The medical staff's professional consciousness must be based on heightened political consciousness. A nurse does not have working hours and rest hours. His work usually starts at a certain time — and he must be punctual — but he has no set time at which to finish.

Disease, suffering and war cannot be subject to bureaucratic decisions. A hospital functions 24 hours a day and seven days a week. Wherever there are patients, wherever there is suffering, there the doctor must be, regardless of the time. This is the only way to serve the people. A war is not fought with rest hours, and neither can disease be fought with rest hours for the medical staff. If nursing students are to get used to this exacting pace, their programme of studies must include at least ten hours of activity a day.

In the course of duty, medical workers are forced to come into close contact with all kinds of human weakness and misery.

Even if they want to, patients cannot conceal their ailments and their causes. Scientific analysis is revealing. It is therefore essential that the medical staff understand the concept of professional secrecy. Their knowledge of weaknesses and miseries must not be the subject of general conversation or worse still, an instrument of ambition or revenge.

The patient is sacred to the hospital. A nurse, hospital worker or doctor is not involved with revenge in the course of duty. For the medical staff there are no races, colours, creeds or even nationalities. To them there are only patients. A wounded or sick Portuguese soldier is treated like one of us in our hospital. We do this because we have a revolutionary morality, a higher morality, a morality radically opposed to the baseness of fascism and colonialism.

We have already said that the hospital embodies our political line, that the medical workers must actively embody our ideology. For this, our words and deeds must correspond rigorously to our line. This is the main thing. If despite our technical and material shortcomings we have already achieved better results in the field of health than the colonialists, this is due solely to the correctness and superiority of our line.

Waging an internal struggle to make our words and actions comply with our line is to create the conditions for the success of our work. Our hospitals must be the daily source of a thousand good examples to the masses of the effectiveness of our principles.

Technical knowledge takes second place. It is important nevertheless. Only the knowledge of the laws of nature and their use for our purposes will enable us to eradicate disease. There can be no limits to study. No one knows everything, or even enough. So long as there are diseases, so long as people are dying, we must study, we must learn.

If we are to be of greater service, we must study a great deal. We must study every-

thing. Naturally we must first study medical science, acquiring the theoretical knowledge that synthesises and rationalises practical teaching. But we must also study and learn from practice – we must study and learn from the people.

We must study society. We must know the traditions, history, culture and specific features of each region, and constantly relate them to the national context.

We must study people, get to know them. Illness does not exist in the abstract, but in actual people, each with his own psychological make-up and specific abilities. Knowing a man is the best way of helping him to summon his energy against the illness attacking him, and also the best way of guiding our actions to bring about the revolutionary transformation of his mind. Through knowledge we achieve understanding, and only after understanding can we act.

But the most important thing is to constantly study the policy of our movement, because only this can give us an overall view and provide the clear perspective ensuring the proper orientation of our work. For us the aim of study is not to gain the means of exploiting the people better or to acquire privileged positions as in the capitalist zone.

We are not interested in one person getting good grades, in imparting a lot of knowledge to one individual. However knowledgeable he might be, one person would not be able to run all the hospitals we need or attend to all the patients.

We study collectively and our progress goes in waves, everyone advancing together. This requires a spirit of mutual aid among the students and medical staff, the falling behind of one being regarded as a step backward for the Movement, a step backward in serving the people.

This collective spirit should govern our entire lives. Without national unity we will be defeated by the colonialists. Without unity, our worker and peasant class will be dominated by the exploiters. Without unity, our health work will fail.

The collective spirit makes us face each problem, each situation, each shortcoming as if it were our own. There is no problem to which we are indifferent. Power belongs to us and therefore we cannot sit with folded arms when faced with a situation, however small, which hampers our progress. A minor cut may open the way for tetanus, which destroys the whole organism. In the case of the body, a cut on our little toe can kill if it is not treated. We must not disregard a problem just because it does not affect us personally: this problem is part of the body to which we too belong.

Our hospitals exist because sacrifices have been made. Our hospitals represent all the blood that has been shed.

The surgical instruments, drugs and equipment are a result of the sacrifices made by the people, the sacrifices made by our friends.

Because blood is flowing in Mozambique, a powerful tide of solidarity has built up in many countries to help us. People voluntarily deprive themselves to help us.

Having a well-developed sense of how to fight waste, indicates that we respect the sacrifices made by our friends – it shows the collective spirit.

Comrades often die in our hospitals for lack of medicines. Very often there is not even peroxide to treat a patient. Saving medicines and equipment is to save the lives of the people that these medicines and equipment can cure.

This course is being started at the Americo Boavida Hospital. This is a symbolic coincidence.

Comrade Boavida, an Angolan doctor, sacrificed his life for the people. He could have been doing medical research, but he died serving the people, fighting against

sickness and exploitation.

A further example and encouragement to us should be the internationalist spirit of the foreign comrades who, out of revolutionary solidarity, have left their own countries and the comfort created through their labour to come and work with us.

Our responsibility is great. Our struggle is not only to liberate our people but also to support brother peoples, the working class of the whole world.

In our work united under the leadership of FRELIMO and guided by our ideology, let us apply the watchword: serve the people. We will thus perform our national and international duty.

A LUTA CONTINUA. INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE. VENCEREMOS.

6 SOWING the seeds of Revolution

Directives issued at the beginning of the productive cycle 1971-72.

We shall soon be starting to prepare the land for new crops.

To many people production may seem a rite, a necessity, just something we are obliged to do in order to eat and clothe ourselves. It is true that production is aimed at satisfying our basic biological needs, but we also need it to free ourselves from poverty, to better know, control and use nature, and to educate ourselves politically. We are revolutionaries, our activities always have political meaning and content. Therefore our production, besides having an economic meaning and content, must have also political content.

In the enemy zone, under capitalism, under colonialism, there is also production. There too man wields the hoe to break the soil. There too, on the factory machine – which we do not as yet have in our zone – man makes things. Yet we say that production in the enemy zone is exploitation, whereas in our zone production liberates man. But it is the same hoe, the same man, the same act of breaking the soil. Why then is there this dividing line? Almost everyone knows the G3 gun. In the hands of the enemy the G3 is used to oppress and slaughter the people, but when we capture a G3, it becomes an instrument for liberating the people, for punishing those who slaughter the people. It is the same gun, but its content has changed because those who use it have different aims, different interests.

What use is made of the produce of a Mozambican peasant who grows rice in Gaza? Is it used to feed him, to satisfy his family's needs? To a certain extent perhaps. But what is certain is that out of what he gets for his produce he has to pay the colonial taxes, taxes to pay the police who arrest him, taxes to pay the salary of the administrator who oppresses him, taxes to buy arms for the soldiers who will tomorrow drive the peasant off his land, taxes to pay for transporting and installing settlers who will occupy the peasant's land. The peasant produces to pay taxes. Through his labour, the peasant finances the oppression of which he is the victim.

Let us continue with the example of the peasant who grows rice. In order to live he needs other things apart from rice. He needs clothing. He needs oil. He needs many things which he has to buy in the shop. To buy he needs money, and money does not fall from heaven. This means that our peasant has to go and sell his rice to the store or company. He sells his things at low prices and buys at prices four or five times higher than what we sell for. Many metres of cotton cloth, many shirts, can be made out of one sack of cotton. When we sell a sack of cotton however, the money we get for the one sack is barely enough to buy one shirt. This means that what we produce, our sweated labour acting on the soil, benefits the companies, the traders who do nothing.

In the enemy zone these are the mildest, the least cruel forms of exploitation. There are others which are much worse. There is the sale of workers to the mines, the many strong young men who go off to the mines. Many die in mine disasters. More than 2,500 die in the mines each year. Others, we do not know how many, return without arms, without a foot, with their lungs eaten away by tuberculosis. The mineowners are the richest men in the world. The wealth extracted from the mines is sold at very high prices, but how much do the men who die in the mines earn?

Along the Zambezi are the rich lands of Sena Sugar. Sena Sugar makes many thousands of contos* a year. But how much do those who work on the rich land of Sena Sugar earn? In the Moatize coal mines, in the Zambezia company's palm groves, in the Gurue tea highlands, everywhere Mozambicans are cultivating rich lands, building big buildings, making complex machinery produce goods, but nowhere is it those who work, who sweat over the soil, who risk their lives in mine shafts, who benefit from their own labour.

In the enemy zone, manual labour, the labour that creates everything, is for the poor, for the "stupid". In the enemy zone manual labour, physical labour, using the hoe, is for the "stupid", the "illiterate". The less a person works, the more educated he is, the less he works, the more civilised he is, the more he exploits the labour of others and the more he is respected, the higher his status in society. Who can imagine a governor, a doctor, a general or a banker with calloused hands, his feet in the soil, sweating under the sun with the effort of hoeing? It would be thought dishonourable, shameful, low. In the enemy zone where the exploiters live like leeches off the labour of the exploited, in the schools, on the radio, at the cinema, everywhere contempt is taught for manual labour and veneration of the exploiters.

In our zone it is different. Here labour does not serve to enrich companies and traders, speculators and parasites. Labour is to satisfy the needs of the people and the war. This is why our production is the target of constant enemy attack.

In our zone labour is a liberating activity because the product of labour benefits the workers, serves the interests of the workers, i.e. it serves to liberate man from hunger and poverty and to advance the struggle. This is because in our zone we have abolished the exploitation of man by man, because what is produced is the property of the people, serving the people. We are producing in our own interest. It is in our interest to bring up healthy children, children free from disease, strong children free from hunger and rickets.

Through production we are contributing towards feeding our children and our people properly. By cultivating the land we are producing vitamin-rich foods. We are growing carrots, which have vitamins that are good for our eyesight. We are growing cassava, which has leaves rich in iron. We are growing an infinite number of crops, from maize to tomatoes, from beans to lettuces, which strengthen the body and which, owing to the very diversity and wealth of them, provide us with a diet which, because it is varied is not only more agreeable but is also a more balanced diet, in itself a defence against many diseases, making us more resistant. Moreover, the physical effort of agricultural production especially, not only strengthens the muscles, hardening our bodies, but, because it keeps us in contact with nature, keeps us in the sun, which provides us with vitamins which are necessary for the body's resistance creating the condition for us to enjoy good health.

* *1000 escudos = one conto (60 esc. = £1)*

At the same time, it is through production, by advancing it, and only through production that we will succeed in meeting our growing needs. In certain regions, because we are able to export our surpluses to friendly countries, the clothing problem has been attenuated. What we export provides us with the means to buy things we do not as yet produce.

Our needs in clothing, footwear and soap can be solved in only two ways. One is to step up our exports, thereby enabling ourselves to buy more. The second way, which is more effective but a long-term prospect, is to produce these goods ourselves. We are purposely talking about cloth, footwear and soap. The reason for this is quite simple. Our country, our cultivators grow the cotton from which the cloth is made. Craft production of cotton cloth is within the realm of our possibilities. We have the skins of cows, goats and many other animals, and such skins are used to make footwear. Craft production of leather and shoes is within the realm of our possibilities. We have the agricultural raw materials from which soap is made and experiments in Cabo Delgado have proved that we are in a position to make soap.

At the same time, increasing production through better use of our resources — using manure and irrigation, improving agriculture and livestock raising, etc. — is possible, as proved by experiments made at certain military bases and in pilot centres. Production therefore serves to solve the essential problems of a rich diet for health and to meet all our needs. This is why work is respected in our zone and why he who works is praised, while he who lives by exploiting the work of others is criticised, denounced, fought against and despised.

Through work we are also becoming more united, cementing our unity. If I am a Nyanja, and cultivate the land alongside an Ngoni, I sweat with him, wrest life from the soil with him, learn with him, appreciating his efforts, and I feel united with him. If I am from the centre and am with a comrade from the north, discussing with him how to use a plot of land, how and what to plant, we plan together, fight the difficulties together and share the joy of picking the ear of maize which has grown through our joint effort. I and that comrade are united, our liking for each other increases. If I am from the north and learn how to make a kitchen garden with a comrade from the south, how to water the fleshy red tomatoes, or if I am from the centre and learn for the first time how to grow cassava with a comrade from the north, I am becoming more united with those comrades, tangibly living the unity of our country, the unity of our working class. With him I am destroying tribal, religious and linguistic prejudices, all that is secondary and divides us. Unity grows with the growing plant, with the sweat and intelligence we both mingle with the soil.

In FRELIMO we always emphasise the importance of production. To our army we give the tasks of fighting, producing and mobilising the masses. To our youth we give the tasks of studying, producing and fighting. In our discussions, in our documents, we constantly stress the importance of production, pointing out that this is an important front in our fight and a school for us. We can see that production is satisfying our everyday needs at the same time as liberating and uniting us. But we do not yet see that production is a school, that we learn through production. Some people might be surprised that in our schools there are those who devote long hours to production, and that our army also has this task. These people might feel that this is absurd, that it would be more worthwhile for the pupils to spend this time reading books, attending classes, that the army's job is to fight and not to produce. But we also learn through production. Our ideas do not fall from the skies like rain. Our knowledge and experience

do not come from dreaming in our sleep. Without ever having been to school, our illiterate peasants know more about cassava, cotton, groundnuts and many other things than the honourable capitalist gentleman who has never touched a hoe. Without knowing how to read, it is clear that our mechanics know more about car engines, how to assemble them and repair them and how to mend broken parts, than the honourable capitalist gentleman who has never wished to soil his hands with motor oil. We see our "ignorant" masons, our "stupid" carpenters and labourers, so despised by the capitalist gentlemen, making beautiful houses, beautiful furniture which the honourable gentleman appreciates immensely and which he has no idea how to make. This clearly shows that we learn through production.

What we learn we do, and when we do, we see what is wrong. So we learn also from our mistakes and achievements. The mistakes show where there are shortcomings in our knowledge, weak points which have to be examined. This means that it is in the process of producing that we correct our mistakes. Production shows us that if good tomatoes are going to grow in it, this soil needs more manure, that there more water is needed. It was by making experiments that failed that our pupils learned how to make soap. It was by making soap that they improved the quality of the soap.

Production is a school because it is one of the sources of our knowledge, and it is through production that we correct our mistakes. It is by going to the people, that we both learn and teach the people. If our army did not produce, how would we have grown cassava in Tete when the people had no knowledge of cassava? If we had contented ourselves with making speeches about cassava, would the cassava have grown? What better way of defending our production in Tete against bombing raids, chemical weapons and enemy incursions than diversification of production, introduction of new crops and crops which are resistant to enemy action?

How can the people improve their production methods, how can they know what is wrong and what is right, unless they produce? We are in the habit of saying that it is in the war that we learn war, which means, in fact, that it is by carrying out a revolution that one learns how to carry out a revolution better, that it is by fighting that we learn to fight better and that it is by producing that we learn to produce better. We can study a lot, but what use is tons of knowledge if it is not taken to the masses, if we do not produce? If someone keeps maize seeds in a drawer, will he harvest ears of maize?

If someone learns a lot and never goes to the masses, is never involved in practice, he will remain a dead compendium, a mere recorder who is able to quote by heart many passages from scientific works, from revolutionary works, but who will live his whole life without writing a single new page, a single new line. His intelligence will remain sterile, like those seeds locked in the drawer. We need constant practice, we need to be immersed in the revolution and in production, to increase our knowledge and, in this way, to advance our revolutionary work, our productive work.

The seed of knowledge only grows when it is buried in the soil of production of struggle. If we have already so greatly transformed our country, if we have won so many successes in production, education, health and combat, it is because we are always with the masses. We consistently apply what we know to production, correct our mistakes and enrich our knowledge.

But we should not be satisfied. Practice is not enough. One must also know, study. Without practice, without being combined with force, intelligence remains sterile.

Without intelligence, without knowledge, force remains blind, a brute force.

There are still many shortcomings in our work which we must and can correct. These shortcomings are a result of the insufficient use of intelligence in our work. All our shortcomings boil down to two aspects: political shortcomings and shortcomings in our scientific knowledge.

In many places we could produce more and better with less effort and with greater protection from enemy action. If we do not do so it is because we have not adopted our political line, because we are still strongly influenced by the individualism and corruption inherited from the old society. However energetic they may be and however hard they work, one man and his family cannot cultivate many small plots all at the same time, i.e. they cannot disperse the enemy's targets, in other words protect production. This man and his family cannot at the same time cultivate various plots providing different crops and, therefore, a richer diet. It is impossible for him to organise a system of guarding and protecting all the plots, all the granaries, his house and the village from enemy incursions and looting. One man cannot do productive work and at the same time patrol various areas to watch out for the enemy and prevent surprise attacks. This means that individualism and the private property mentality, (I have my plot and my cattle, you have your plot and cattle, I have my granary and my house, and you have your granary and your house), lead to defeats, making us lose the cattle, plot, house and granary.

Another serious consequence of a lack of collective spirit in production, of shortcomings in collective methods, is that this prevents us from learning from each other, from benefiting from mutual experience and knowledge. There was no progress in the past, because we did not discuss our knowledge and experience. The knowledge and experience passed on to us by our grandparents had become a dogma which no one discussed, and we remained sterile, without initiative.

Therefore, we leaders, cadres, fighters and militants must work hard to make the masses adopt and live by the collective spirit, using collective methods of production, which will make it possible to enhance the spirit of collective living, thereby increasing the sense of unity, discipline and organisation. Adopting a collective consciousness in work means renouncing individualism and considering that all the cultivated plots belong to us, to the people, that all the granaries and houses are ours, the people's. It means that I must unite with others in a co-operative, in a production brigade. We will cultivate, harvest and stand guard together, and together we will protect that which belongs not to me or you, but to us. That field is not mine or yours, but ours. The pupil in the school, the soldier in the base, and the patient and nurse in the hospital all have a collective consciousness. No one looks upon the school, the base or the hospital as their private property, and everyone therefore takes an enthusiastic interest in advancing the work of the school, base or hospital. As a result progress is made, the work advances, and the enemy cannot so easily attack. Where there is a collective spirit, we are more organised, there is better discipline and a proper division of labour. There is also more initiative, a greater spirit of sacrifice and we learn more, produce more and fight better, with more determination.

Other shortcomings are a result of superficial or even mistaken ideas on the laws which govern natural phenomena. These are shortcomings in our scientific knowledge. We often live near a source of water — a river or a well — waiting for rain for the crops, although there is water there which would solve our problems. Other times we go about complaining that the soil is poor, completely ignoring natural fertilisers, the

animal and human manures which enrich the soil. We have the raw materials for making soap, yet we go on doing without soap. We can grow, spin and weave cotton and yet we go on doing without clothing. There are many examples, all of which show that our lack of scientific knowledge blinds us. The solution to a problem facing us is right under our noses and we do not see it, we do not have the courage to show initiative. We are fighting our insufficient knowledge through study, learning, discussion and practice.

There are comrades who look down on study because they do not know its value. Study is like a lamp in the night which shows us the way. To work without studying is to advance in the dark. One can go forward, of course, but at great risk of stumbling or taking the wrong path. At some bases, among some comrades, the regular habit has been established of devoting some time to study. This is good, but it is not enough. All leaders and cadres, together with the units must organise consistent and regular study programmes. Depending on the situation at least one hour a day should be devoted to study activities. Study should be organised in the spirit of collective work, collective consciousness, with small groups in which some teach others and everyone fights ignorance together. Because our starting point is a fairly weak one, we advise that in this first phase every effort should be made to raise the level of basic knowledge, especially by wiping out illiteracy in the units and among the cadres.

The Political Commissar, in co-operation with the Department of Education and Culture and working closely with the Provincial organisations, must organise the programme of fighting illiteracy and ignorance in such a way that each FRELIMO base becomes a base for fighting against obscurantism. Closely related to this programme should be a programme of seminars for comrades with higher scientific knowledge — agronomists, engineers, mechanics, sociologists, nurses, etc. — to help raise the general level of knowledge of leaders and cadres in the districts and provinces. These should be specialised seminars on precise subjects such as irrigation, hygiene, mill construction, the introduction of new crops and the introduction of new production methods.

In this way our comrades will be able to relate their scientific studies to practice, and raise the level both of their own work and of the work of the masses. Soil without manure produces weak plants, but manure without soil burns the seeds and also produces nothing. Our intelligence, our knowledge, are like that manure. Manure must be mixed with soil, intelligence with practice. Because their very existence depends on exploiting us, capitalism and colonialism keep knowledge away from the masses, creating an educated elite which does not work and is used only to better exploit the masses.

We say that it is the workers who must have knowledge, who must rule and who must benefit from labour. This is what we say and practice. And this is why our Armed Struggle has been transformed into a Revolution, why everything is in constant transformation and we are liberating the creative energy of the masses. This, finally, is why the enemy hate us. Nothing exists without production, and nothing exists without workers. The planes and bombing raids, the colonialist crimes, are aiming at keeping the workers producing for the capitalists, at keeping them exploited. The target of our bullets, the purpose of our struggle is, definitively, to end the exploitation of man by man, colonialism being its principal form in our country today. Our objective is to hand production over to the creative ability of the masses.

We are about to enter our eighth year of war. Next year we will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of our Front. We are growing a great deal, but to grow more, to meet the growing needs of the war and the people, it is essential that our production increase in both quantity and quality, that more things be produced in our country.

Revolution liberates man. It liberates his intelligence and his work. This liberation manifests itself in the development of our production, which serves the people, which serves the struggle. Therefore, at this time when preparations are being made in agriculture for sowing the crops of the new season, we say to all the comrades:

TO PRODUCE IS TO LEARN. LEARN IN ORDER TO PRODUCE AND STRUGGLE BETTER.

A LUTA CONTINUA. INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE. VENCEREMOS.

7 BUILDING A NATION

Interview in the Sunday News *(Tanzania) 2 April, 1972*

Samora Moises Machel has been President of the Mozambique Liberation Front since shortly after the death of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane in 1969. He is rarely seen in Dar es Salaam and seldom gives interviews but on a recent visit he spoke to *Sunday News* staff writer Iain Christie about FRELIMO; what it stands for; what it is doing; and where it is going. In this interview the word "Cahora" is used instead of "Cabora" in the name of the giant dam project in Mozambique. FRELIMO uses Cahora because it more closely approximates the local people's pronunciation of the site.

Since you began military operations near Cahora Bassa, developments in South Tete have received a great deal of publicity, and successful FRELIMO operations are reported so frequently, even by the Portuguese, that it appears as though the struggle is more developed here than anywhere else in Mozambique. Is this so? And how do South Tete and Cahora Bassa fit into FRELIMO's overall strategy?

The struggle in Tete province is not separated from the development of the struggle in the other provinces. Therefore in order to understand the situation in Tete you have to know the political and military situation in the whole of Mozambique.

Tete is an integral part of our country. The arm cannot live outside the body and Tete is something like an arm in the context of our country. Only when the other parts of the body work properly can the arm also function. It is because the political and military struggle is developing properly in the other provinces that we are having successes in Tete.

It was necessary to develop the war in the other provinces to create conditions for it to start in Tete in 1968. By that time, in Niassa and Cabo Delgado, we were already launching large scale, important combats, already capturing prisoners and war equipment.

We were developing the process of national reconstruction in these two provinces — we had hospitals and schools. So the struggle had already determined important changes in the society there.

These conditions enabled us to begin the fighting in Tete again in 1968 and the struggle is now well-developed. It is developing because the people are becoming more and more involved. But although it may appear that the war in Tete is more developed than in the other two provinces, this is not the case. What is happening is that Tete is being given more publicity because of the economic interests there. They are the interests of capitalists and international imperialism; for them Tete is like the camel's hump — it is where their strength and reserves are concentrated. And our struggle is affecting these interests.

You know about Cahora Bassa. The great powers are involved there. Then there are the trucks which transport goods on the road through Tete from Malawi to Rhodesia. We attack the roads, trains and trucks, mainly because it is through them that the enemy circulates and distributes its forces.

Cahora Bassa is not our main target. Our plan as it was defined when we started the war is to spread the struggle throughout the entire country, and since Cahora Bassa is inside our country and in a province where there is fighting, it necessarily falls within this plan. We do not concentrate our action in Tete on Cahora Bassa, but of course there are circumstances that make it a very important target for us, namely the extent of imperialist involvement and the implications for our struggle if the scheme were to be carried out.

I know you have schools, hospitals and so on in the northern part of Tete, but do you have these things south of the Zambezi yet?

Yes. The struggle has developed quickly here because this is an area where Portuguese oppression made itself felt more strongly than in other places. And there are the people who live near the border with Rhodesia — they suffered double oppression. They were recruited to work in the banana and sugar plantations in Mozambique and when they finished there they were sold to Rhodesia to work in the tobacco plantations. When they finished there they came back and were recruited by the Portuguese again.

So the people there felt oppression more than anywhere else. Men could never live with their families. It was something like slavery.

The result is that the people are aware that the armed struggle is the only solution to their problems. That's why there are so many cases of boys and girls of 15 and 16 joining us. One of the reasons is that they themselves saw their parents being oppressed, exploited and even killed by the Portuguese colonialists.

But in spite of these atrocities we do not retaliate in their brutal manner.

What about captured Portuguese soldiers? What is your attitude towards them and towards white civilians who live in Mozambique?

When we capture Portuguese soldiers we do not kill or mistreat them. Our people know that these men are participating in the war because they were forced to. They are not defending their own interests or the interests of the Portuguese people, but the interests of Portuguese capitalists and international imperialism.

Then there are the Portuguese soldiers who desert to us. These we consider our allies. Their desertion is an act of support to our struggle.

And there are whites born in Mozambique who want to join our ranks. We do not consider these as foreigners who support us. Such a man is one of us and it is his duty, just as it is my duty, to liberate Mozambique.

Our policy regarding civilians is clear. We do not fight the Portuguese who are in our country because they are Portuguese. We fight the forces of colonial occupation.

This policy is not new. Since the beginning we have said our struggle is not against the Portuguese people but against Portuguese colonialism. And now in Tete one begins to feel this more strongly. There are more concrete cases there because the Portuguese population is much larger in Tete than in the other two provinces where we are fighting. They have shops there and plantations. There are traders. We don't harm them. We attack the colonial war machine of repression.

Of course, if those people co-operate with the colonial authorities against us we have to take action against them. We do the same with Mozambicans;

Sometimes civilians get killed when we attack a convoy. But we attack these convoys because in them are troops and arms, and these aren't carried only in military vehicles. Civilian cars are used for this purpose too, so it is impossible to differentiate, to know which is the military car and which is not. That is why civilians sometimes get killed. But it is not our policy to kill civilians. Our targets are military or with a military relevance.

The Portuguese have been putting hard surfaces on roads in Tete to prevent you from laying mines. They even brought in a new Governor-General who is an expert on road building to help. Have they succeeded in surfacing the roads and, if so, have you devised a way round this problem?

The former Governor was also an engineer. He was brought especially for Cahora Bassa, because he was one of its planners. And one of his first statements when he arrived was that the north was calling them, because the north was not developed, had no communications, roads.

The plan of opening roads stems from as far back as 1969. They had already been allocated thousands of pounds just for building roads from Lourenco Marques up to the Rovuma River, and from Beira to the Zambian border, to enable them to distribute their forces to attack our zones.

We don't control the air and that is not our concern. We do control the ground and we are concentrating on continuing to control it.

The Portuguese have created a myth that road building is the key to their security. The last Governor failed in this task and resigned. The new Governor won't succeed either because we are now in a better position than ever to wreck the plan. Today it is not only our soldiers who destroy the roads — the villagers themselves go out and rip up the surfaces almost as soon as they are laid.

You have often said that the Mozambican struggle is essentially political and that this must be realised in order to understand the development of FRELIMO's military operations. Does this mean that you attribute military success to having the correct political line?

Yes. For FRELIMO it is fundamental to have a national consciousness and to develop it into a revolutionary consciousness that allows for an understanding of the objectives of our struggle, the reasons for our revolution, and an awareness of who we are fighting, who are the enemies. This is the primary concern of every leader, of every militant and of the people in general.

Our military situation is now better than ever. And we know that the reason the struggle is successful is that our political line is correct, the people are becoming more and more aware, mobilised and organised. That is what makes the struggle political.

Big changes are taking place in our society now. Political power is being handed to the people themselves, the leadership in the liberated areas is being undertaken by the people of those areas.

The Portuguese will never be able to destroy this new awareness. In some of those areas the people have not known oppression for seven years, they pay no taxes, they

don't have to carry the Portuguese boss on their shoulders . . . when the colonialists went to the villages to collect taxes or to arrest people they were carried by the Mozambicans themselves.

The people have developed their initiative. They discuss their problems and find solutions together. They discuss ways to combat the enemy. They participate in the struggle both in its planning and its implementation. They discuss the kind of life they want to live.

So we no longer discuss if our struggle will continue, if the Portuguese will have successes or not. The struggle is an integral part of the people's lives and what we discuss with the people now is how to make our struggle a real revolution.

Can you define what you mean by a liberated area? The Portuguese sometimes take journalists into areas which you describe as liberated, then say to them: "Look, there are no terrorists here."

You could have visited pre-independence Tanganyika and travelled for miles in the countryside, where the people lived, without seeing any sign of the administrative authorities, the British. This does not mean that Tanganyika was not dominated by the colonialists: the structure which determined the lives of the people and to which they were subjected was a colonialist structure.

The form of administration and the form of production were colonialist — arresting people for work, for example. The form of teaching in the schools, when and where there was a school somewhere in the countryside, was a colonialist form. The curriculum was British — about the history of Britain, the heroism of the British people.

So although the British were not physically present everywhere, the structure of oppression made itself felt throughout the country.

Now, in Mozambique, these attestations of colonialism, the methods of work under the colonialists, have been removed from large areas of the country. These we call liberated zones. The way of production is a popular way, not the colonialist way, which is characterised by exploitation. The attitude which guides everybody's life is now collective, not individualist. Problems are solved collectively — and this is something new.

These liberated zones, because of the new type of power, new kind of administration, new way of life, are the targets of the enemy. We do not deny that these zones are subject to attacks, but this happens even in Vietnam and nobody can deny that there are large liberated areas in Vietnam.

And to further clarify the point, "liberated zones" does not mean the complete expulsion of the physical presence of the colonialists. There are still Portuguese there but they are isolated in a few small garrisons. The basic question is: who do the people follow? They follow whose watchword? Is the work they undertake clandestine or open? In our zones the work is open. The watchword comes from the organisation. That means freedom from exploitation, from forced labour. That is a liberated zone.

The Portuguese have taken journalists to Mozambique. We also take our friends. Each one sees for himself. We take people from many countries and last year journalists and students visited us from as far apart as Sweden and Kenya. Our visitors have been to Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete and have written about what they saw. They have balanced the picture. It was clear to them that FRELIMO controls these areas.

Since the beginning of the revolution in Angola, the Portuguese have introduced "reforms" in all the colonies in an effort to persuade the people not to join the armed struggle. Has this caused any serious problems for you?

They do this and they will continue to do it because it is the only weapon they have — dividing the people in order to dominate them. What they have introduced is new methods of corruption, not methods of changing the structure of society. It's not to better the lives of the people, it's the introduction of corruption.

They cannot change their political line because they cannot stop being colonialists. They cannot stop making the people do forced labour because they depend on forced labour.

What they do is divide the people. They give some economic privileges to a few Mozambicans, those who have had some education and who are considered potentially active political leaders, to induce them to defend the colonial system in order to retain these privileges.

They announce "important changes" like the new "State" of Mozambique, to try to create the illusion — mainly among people in other countries — that the Portuguese are taking steps towards the independence of our country.

They also try to discredit the liberation movement — by attempting to make the people believe that we are terrorists. For example, they massacre people in a certain place, then bring people from another zone and say: "Look, this is what FRELIMO does."

But to answer your question, these tactics do not cause any problem for us. The people are politically aware and conscious; they have lived under Portuguese colonialism since they were born; they have experienced the oppression, exploitation and humiliation in their own flesh; they cannot be cheated.

A typical example is that of Domingos Arouca, the only black Mozambican lawyer. The Portuguese tried to win him over by offering him a high post in the colonial administration. He understood and refused to be part of the colonial machine. Today he is in jail.

Manoeuvres will never succeed.

Recently the West German Government has been making moves which suggest that Chancellor Willy Brandt is trying to stop German weapons going to Portugal for the African wars. Do you think that Mr. Brandt is making an honest effort?

We cannot see how this can be considered other than as a manoeuvre. The West German Government is linked with the Portuguese so much that it cannot stop its support. The West Germans have advisers, they have officers, they manufacture weapons in Portugal. It is easier to make the weapons there than to transport them from West Germany.

A few weeks ago the West German Ambassador in Malawi flew to Mozambique to "visit" Cahora Bassa.

Do you think this adds up to an honest effort?

What kind of political structure is being built in liberated Mozambique? What kind of society can we expect to see when the entire country is free, and would you like to compare it to any other country's system?

We are fighting against a specific structure which exists in Mozambique. It is an unpo-

pular structure, where there is a privileged class, there is an embryonic intermediate class and there are those who are really miserable; a structure which ensures that the riches of our country do not serve the people.

The people who are fighting, making sacrifices, dying in the war, destroying the enemy, are doing so to win real freedom. The people will create a structure that benefits them, not one that satisfies the selfish aims of an exploiting minority.

There is no need to draw comparisons with other countries.

How much time do you spend in Mozambique, how much outside in your various diplomatic activities?

The rule is to spend most of the time inside because our external policy is determined by the situation inside. The leadership must stay inside, following the development of the situation so as to be able to formulate the watchword corresponding to the situation at any given moment. The exterior plays an important part in our struggle and this is why we have to go outside from time to time, to inform our friends in Africa, in the socialist countries, the progressive forces in the West, about the development of the struggle. But it is not a decisive part and we go abroad only when necessary.

It is fundamental to our struggle that the leadership and the people participate together in the work inside and through this we know where to put more emphasis, where to concentrate more efforts at any specific time. This is a rule of the organisation but it is not because it is a rule that our leadership undertakes its duties inside. They understand that it is necessary to know the temperature inside and that the people are the thermometer.

Are you able to operate politically in the south of your country, where the armed struggle has not begun?

Yes. We have political cadres over the whole country. That is why there is a growing awareness among the people that enables them to understand the manoeuvres of the enemy. For example, during Banda's trip, there was a movement of discontent that expressed itself in our protests. The colonialists made mass arrests in the whole southern region. The same happened in June, 1970. This is because of our presence everywhere.

In the Central Committee there are members from all provinces. In all the different sectors of activity there are people from all provinces. This is the political structure.

Fighters came from all provinces, too, and if we do not yet operate militarily in some provinces it is mainly due to geographical problems. But we will cover the whole country. Of this we are certain.